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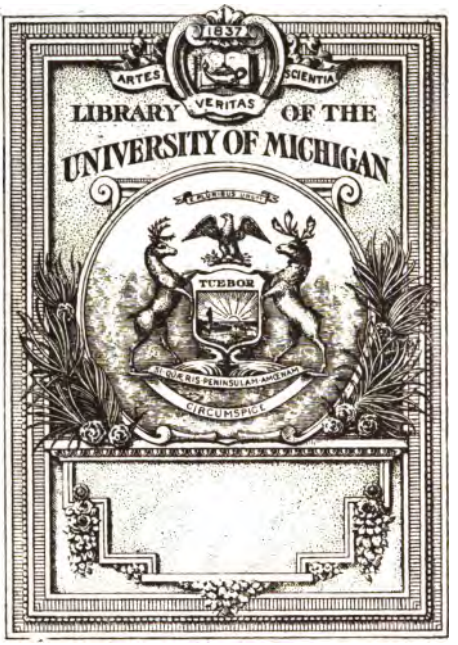

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Town of Julamerik.

TRAVELS AND RESEARCHES

IN

ASIA MINOR, MESOPOTAMIA,

CHALDEA, AND ARMENIA.

BY

WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH, F.G.S., F.R.G.S.

IN CHARGE OF THE EXPEDITION SENT BY THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY,
AND THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,
TO THE CHRISTIAN TRIBES IN CHALDEA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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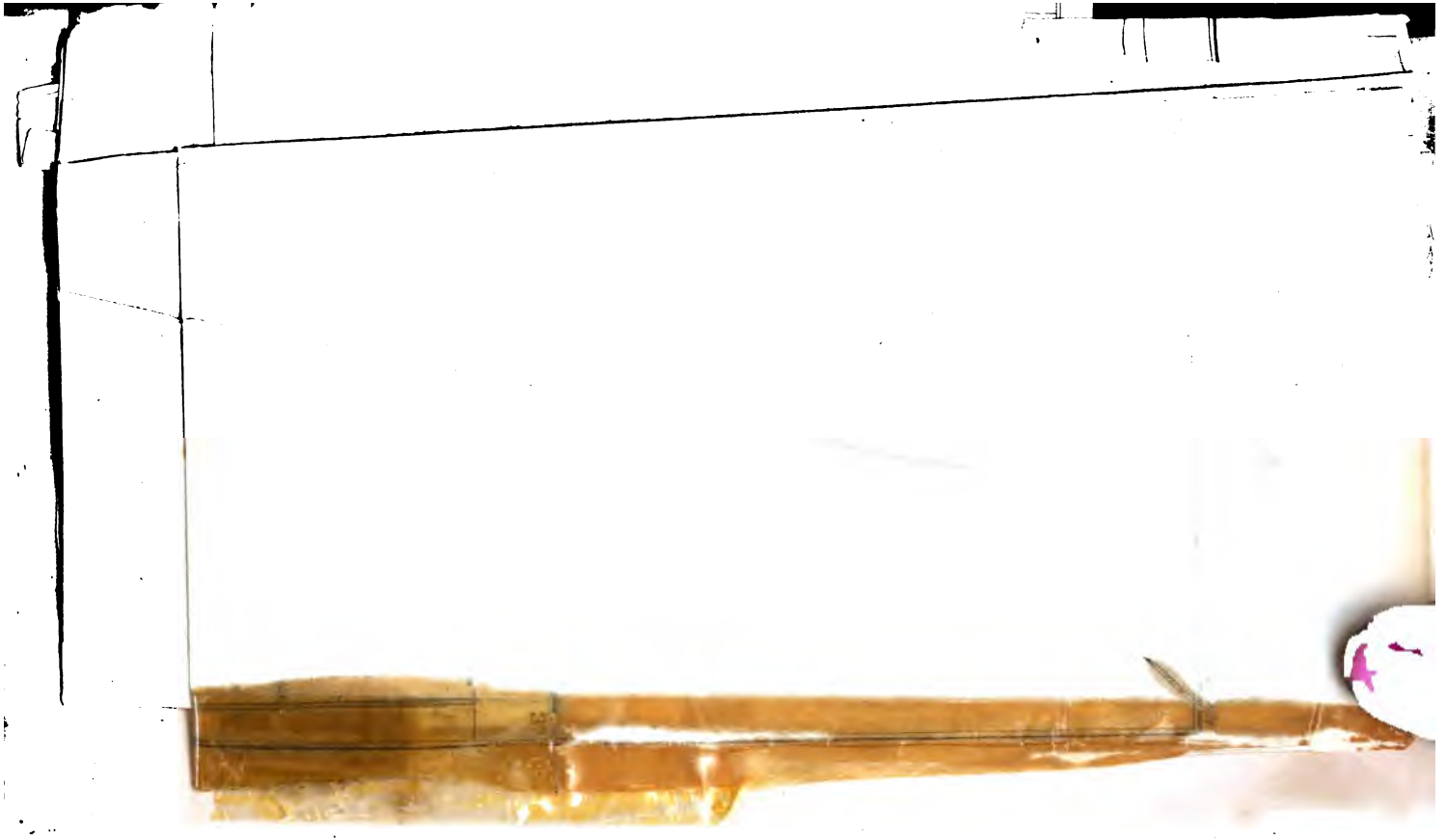

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CHAPTER XXVI.

Interior of Monastery at Sivas.

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Sunday, June 30th. The day after our arrival, Hafiz Pasha made his appearance at Aspusi, having travelled by a different and more easterly road, accompanied by a small body of about a thousand soldiers; they had been much harassed during three days by the incessant attacks of the Kurds of Kakhtah and Gergen Kalehsi,

anxious to revenge themselves, in the hour of disaster, upon the Pasha personally, for the wars which he had formerly carried into the heart of those rude mountains. Mr. Rassam and myself went immediately to see him, leaving Mr. Russell to look after our very limited baggage, which lay in the open air.

After expressing much anxiety for our absent friend, concerning whose safety we, however, soon satisfied him, the Pasha asked me, what I proposed doing under present circumstances; to go forward, he said, was quite out of the question, at least for some time to come, as the Kurds, who occupy every pass of the Taurus, were in revolt everywhere. I said I was fully aware of this, and having lost nearly all my instruments, had made up my mind to go to Constantinople, from whence I should have facilities, which did not exist at Malatiyeh, of entering into correspondence with the Society, and seeing if they would replace my losses, by which time the country might also have become quieted. He said, he feared at the present moment, that it would be almost as difficult to retrace my steps to Constantinople, as to advance forward to Dyarbekr, but that he would give me whatever assistance was in his power. He then asked me, when I proposed starting. "At day-break next morning," I said. "Come to me then," he answered. I wished to be excused from this, as it would be so early, but he said he should not sleep. The Pasha was very low spirited, but bore up against his misfortunes; his brother Ibraila Pasha had been weeping, apparently, all night. A severe trial, however, soon presented itself: the servants announced Mehemet Ali Bey, now Pasha of Top Khani in

Constantinople, who had arrived two days before the battle, with the firman of Sultan Mahmoud, conferring on Hafiz Pasha the high dignity of Serasker of Asiatic Turkey. The meeting was a painful one, as all were well aware that the honour came too tardily; none at that moment knew, however, that the Sultan himself was no more. Afterwards we all three went to pass the evening with the two Pashas; Hafiz expressed much anxiety for the fate of the Prussian officers, who, somehow or other, it appeared afterwards, found their way to Marash.

June 31*st*. At the earliest dawn we were again with the Pasha, who had, apparently, only reposed on his divan. He now gave us a tatar, and a letter for the pasha of Malatiyeh, to supply us with horses under every circumstance. We then took our departure, and rode in a couple of hours to the town, where, on visiting the governor, we learnt the sad intelligence, that the great road to Sivas, by Delikli Tash, was occupied by the Reshwan Kurds, and that a tatar despatched the previous evening had not been able to get beyond Hasan Batrik. Under these circumstances, we sent back our tatar to Aspusi, to claim the guard of horsemen which the Pasha had promised us in case of necessity. A little after mid-day, Hafiz Pasha arrived at Malatiyeh himself, and proposed to us, that we should join the party of the mutesellim of Arab Kir, who was returning to his government with a strong escort; the route would be a little longer, but would be safer and less liable to detention. We agreed to this arrangement, but the mutesellim would not start till dusk, for greater secresy, and it was after eight when we at length left Malatiyeh.

In about an hour and a half, we came to the bridge on the Tokmah Su, where was a strong guard, and about fifty tents belonging to Mustafa Pasha of Erzrum. At midnight we arrived at Mor Hammam, a village near thermal springs, beautifully situated upon the great curve which the Euphrates makes round the rocky point of Munshar, which, on the opposite side of the waters, bore the remnants of an ancient castle, beneath which is a village called Kalah Keuy. The inhabitants of Mor Hammam are Turkomans, and having, since the battle, been much annoyed by predatory visits from the Kurds, they had been out this day upon an offensive excursion, and had made seventeen prisoners, whom they kept shut up in their mesjid. Although we were a strong party, and had an Osmanli mutesellim with us, they did not hide their contempt of a government which afforded them so little real protection, yet is always so ready to collect its taxes. They several times bade us go on to another village, and almost refused us any food; we spread our carpets, however, regardless of their ill nature, and were soon buried in sleep.

The next morning, we started with dawn to enjoy the cool of the day. Our road lay along the banks of the river, which is here studded with islands; the rocky hills of Munshar occupied the right bank, and stretched up to Kapan Maden. After a ride of about two hours, we forded the Chamurli Su (Mud River), which is but a small river fifteen yards wide by a foot in depth. Shortly after this we left the river banks, and advanced over a grassy uncultivated country, and a little after 8 A.M., it became so hot that we were glad to repose ourselves under some trees, not far from the village

of Urah Oghlu. At 1 P.M. we started again, and soon entered upon a rocky district with which I was familiar, from a former journey made from Dyarbekr by Kapan Maden to Arab Kir. We passed the night in the village of Hambram, of about twenty houses.

Wednesday, July 3rd. We travelled only three hours and a half to Arab Kir, where the mutesellim welcomed us with Eastern formality to his house. We begged, however, to be allowed to retire to his gardens, which were cooler and more pleasant, and our request was acceded to. Arab Kir, more commonly called Arab Kail, is a small town with a population of about 8000 souls, of whom 6000 are Armenians. The town is built in a narrow and deep valley, at the head of which are the black basaltic mountains called Göl Tagh and Kara Baba. Every house has its garden, so that the town extends nearly two miles along the valley, and has a very pleasing appearance; the flat roofs are covered with micaceous shingle which glitters in the sun. As may be expected, where there are so many Christians, there is much industry. This place is also celebrated in Aleppo, and other large towns, for supplying servants, who, after a few years' service, return to establish themselves in their secluded and picturesque native town. The climate here is delightful; there is snow all the year round on the neighbouring mountains. The gardens produce all kinds of fruit and vegetables in abundance, the market is otherwise well supplied, and the town is unmolested by Kurds or by local schisms.

What a change a few days had made in our circumstances! Here we were luxuriating in the mutesellim's gardens upon fried eggs, mulberries, and sour milk, (a

most refreshing thing in hot weather,) whom a few days ago (and under the excitement of ill-treatment) a bit of bread would almost have tempted to a robbery! None but those who have been in similar situations can tell how the dwelling for days among looks of scorn and hatred, constant rudeness, and occasional acts of open violence, can steel a man's heart, even one whose

> Natural mood
> Is gentleness, which sorrow hath made gentler,

and lead not only to indifference and contempt of danger, but to the occasional sinful feeling of defiance. The only drawback to our present repose, which brought us to more humane feelings, was the bad health of our party. The hot rays of the sun had been unrefreshed by any breeze for two days, and both Mr. Russell and the tatar were completely invalided, and the medicine-chest was gone. Our horses had also suffered severely in the passage of the ravines before described; mine had a sore back, and an abscess had formed in the thigh, and I could not walk from the kick I had received.

The next day a guard of thirty men having been collected by the mutesellim's kindness, we started over the Arab Baba, and the cool air of the mountains tended much to revive the sick. From this chain we descended to a fine stream, thirty yards wide by two feet deep, and abounding with fish. The country around was mountainous and highly picturesque. Fording the river, we did not follow our former road, which lay up the valley of a stream coming from the high conical mountain bearing the Kurdish name of Sari Chi Chak (the Highest Peak), and which crosses the mountain, and then turns westward to the valley and village of

Berastik; but keeping right on before us, we ascended a wooded chalk country, from which we gained grassy vales and uplands in a basaltic district, which forms the easterly continuation of the Sari Chi Chak. Kurds from the Akjah Tagh had led their flocks to pasture in these hills, and we with some difficulty found out the tents of these people, and where their bey resided. We were received, however, with apparent hospitality, and coffee was handed round in cups in embossed silver holders; and a sheep was killed for the soldiers.

Beyond this district we entered a deep pass in trachytic rocks, and fording the stream of Berastik, we ascended hills of more gentle slope, made one more descent, fording the river of Karsi, and then ascended the Etumbat Tagh, from whence we descended to the vale of Divriki, where we arrived after dusk, having accomplished a ride of about eleven hours or thirty-eight miles. We were well received in a palace-like house, which belonged to a bey, to whom we were introduced by our tatar. Everything was in the first style of luxury; warm water was brought to us to wash ourselves, large chandeliers illuminated the apartments, and we were shown into a different room for supper, after which our host paid us a visit, and to whom we expressed our obligations for his attentions.

Divriki is a town of about 10,000 inhabitants, of whom 2000 are Christians. Like Arab Kir, every house has its garden, so that the town occupies a wide extent, but it surpasses Arab Kir in the beauty of its situation. The valley is wide and open, bounded to the north by the rounded but lofty summits of the Dumbugh Tagh, to the south by the Erumbat, to the west it rises

gradually towards the snow-clad summits (in July) of the Yamur Tagh, while to the east it is shut up by lofty and rocky precipices. The valley is watered by a small stream, in the bed of which occur vast boulders of magnetic iron ore. This stream, joins immediately below the town, the Keumer Su, which, issuing from a narrow pass in the Dumbugh Tagh, enters the vale of Divriki, makes a curve to the south-west towards the town, and then loses itself in a dark inaccessible glen, bounded by giant precipices. The rock to the west, which overhangs the town, bears the ruins of a large castle, with double walls, and of Saracenic origin. There is also a small castle on the cliffs on the opposite side of the water. The porch of the mesjid at Divriki is one of the most beautiful specimens of the florid Saracenic, perhaps, to be seen in Western Asia. There is also a mihrab, or pulpit, which is only equalled for exquisite workmanship by that of the Al Towelah, in Mosul*.

The relay of horsemen given to us by the mutesellim

* The mihrab is so much reverenced by Mohammedans, that a light expression concerning it by a poet cost him his life. It is related, that this unhappy bard being a kind of Oriental Petrarch, was bantered by his acquaintance for still loving a mistress who had grown old and lost her personal attractions. The poet excused himself in a distich which said, "Though the mesjid is destroyed, the mihrab still remains unhurt." This, which undoubtedly alluded to what was indestructible and most admired by the poet, the mental qualifications of his fair, was understood in a different way by his enemies, who regarded it as a blasphemy, and the kadi was so moved on hearing it, that he sentenced the lover and poet to lose his head.

of Divriki amounted to only ten men, which we were very glad of, as we were accustomed to the road, and did not now anticipate any further difficulties. The ascent of the Dumbugh Tagh on leaving Divriki is steep and tedious. The pass is called Bel y Oghlu; the rocks consist of euphotides abounding in iron, and on the north side, of granites. The descent led us to the banks of the Keumer Su, which we crossed by a bridge, passing the village of Seliski, where I had slept on a former occasion, and the inhabitants of which were engaged in smelting iron; it was now deserted. Entering upon a district of gypsum, we arrived at another valley, with its stream, where we overtook a party of travelling Kurds. Our horsemen soon recognised sundry animals of burthen, which did not belong by right to the travellers, and before a word could be spoken, bore down upon them with their swords drawn, and at full speed; no blows were given, however, and after much wrangling and disputation, two mules were given up. It was difficult to tell at the end who were the robbers, the Kurds or our guards, there were so many protestations on both sides. From this place we ascended by a hilly country at the foot of the Kara Bel to the yaila, or summer tents, of the Kurds, whose winter village, or kishlak, is called Yarbasan, and where on our former journey Mr. Rassam and myself had a quarrel with the Kurds, which, from the irritability of our khawass, had nearly had serious results. On the present occasion we were, however, well received, and the evening temperature on the mountain was low and highly refreshing.

From Yarbasan we continued the ascent of the oak and pine-clad Kara Bel, the ancient Paryadres, which

we passed over at a line of level rather lower than on the previous journey, and more to the eastward. The elevation at Yarbasan, by barometer, was 4219 feet; that of the crest, 5790; where we crossed at the present time it did not exceed 5000; there was also greater variety in geological detail, but the main features remained the same. On the northern slope of the hills, in a pleasing upland valley, surrounded by forests, we found the summer tents of the villagers of Tuz le Goli (Village of the Salt Lake), which is in the valley of the Halys below. We found great difficulty in obtaining a change of horses from these peasants, who not only disregarded our force but also all authority of every kind, using, whenever high names were quoted, exceedingly bad language against them. The Kurd sheikh of Yarbasan had also accompanied us thus far, and exerted himself to the utmost; after waiting three hours I resolved upon putting the luggage on our own horses and walking to the valley which when they saw we were about to put into execution, horses were produced, and we continued our journey, descending by the ravine of the Shat el Kaya, or the River of the Rock, till we reached the village of Tosangi, which was long after nightfall; having travelled altogether ten hours or thirty-five miles.

Tosangi is in the upper valley of the Halys, which is here about seven miles wide by thirty in length, and bounded on the south by the Kara Bel and on the north by the Tekeli Tagh, which curves round to unite with the Kara Bel by the chain called the Gemin Beli Tagh, above the head-waters of the Halys, which has its sources from the east in the hilly country that effects the union, from the south in the Kara Bel and from the

north in the Gemin Bel. The upper valley of the Halys is already filled up with saliferous sandstones, and marls, and gypsum.

Sunday, July 7th. We had a short and easy ride of six hours along the valley of the Halys to Sivas. While passing Tuz le Hisar (Castle of Salt), we met a tatar, who brought the news of the Sultan's decease. On our passing the bridge we measured the width of the Halys, which had been neglected on a former occasion; it was 215 feet. We found the city of Sivas, as might be expected, in a state of great excitement at the concurring events of the loss of the battle of Nizib and the death of the Sultan, but there were few expressions of patriotism or loyalty to be heard. The Christian part of the community were regretting most, as was generally the case, the onerous taxation they had borne for six years to found and support an army which had been destroyed in a few hours. The proud Turkomans sullenly denied all sympathy with the Sultan or the army: "What have we to do with them?" they said. The few Osmanlis insinuated that if they had been there things would have gone on differently: "Yes, we the Sakhalah (the bearded men)," stroking their long facial appendages, "will go and fight." We stopped the next day at this town in order to visit the pasha, who had particularly requested to see us. In the course of the evening about thirty soldiers of the defeated army arrived; they were the first, and had all been stripped by the Kurds, who had only left them shirt and trowsers.

Sivas is a large town containing a population of 16,000 souls, of whom 4000 are Christians. It is the seat of a pasha, very centrally situated, and would afford,

now that steamers ply to Samsun, a very excellent depôt for English manufactures and goods, which would find a ready market. The business done in the bazaar as it is, is considerable, and the Christian merchants are rich and industrious. The city is not very healthy, being low, and the streets narrow and dirty; but there are many good positions in the neighbourhood.

The old walls of the city no longer exist; but there are ruins of two castles of different eras, one of which appears to have belonged to the kings of Pontus, to have been strengthened by the Romans, and dilapidated by the wars of the Mohammedans, who again built it up upon former ruins; the other is a more rude structure, apparently of the Turkish era. There is a want of wood in the environs which adds to the naked aspect of the town, but there are some gaudy Mohammedan tombs in the neighbourhood, and also a large Christian monastery to celebrate the well-known martyrdom of the Forty of Sivas. We visited this monastery, and thought a sketch of one of its interior chambers worthy of preservation as characteristic of these buildings.

Sivas, or Cabira, and afterwards Sebaste, was the city second in importance to none in the ancient kingdom of Pontus, as it is now the first in the pashalik of its name. Cabira appears to have been so named from the worship (the same as that of the *Divi Potes* of the Romans), which characterized the place. Strabo describes it as being forty stadia from the Paryadres, which is the case. It is situated nearly equidistant from the Paryadres (Kara Bel) to the south and the Scydisses (Chamlu Bel) to the north. According to Appian, Mithridates used to winter his army in this

city, where he also built a castle. In the campaigns of Lucullus, Plutarch relates that that general, leaving the army before Amisus to Murena, marched against Mithridates, who was encamped on the plains of the Cabiri (Appian also notices it as a district, *εκ Καβειρυς*, *ὁ Cabiris*), and who was so confident of victory that he challenged the Romans, and even passed the Lycus, engaging the Roman cavalry and putting them to rout. Led, however, by Artemidorus, the Romans arrived by narrow passes (no doubt the ravines of gypsum immediately north of Sivas), to a height, where in the morning they appeared above the enemy's heads. It was here that occurred the curious accident that saved Lucullus from an assassin's hand. A number of combats ensued, which terminated in the Asiatics ultimately abandoning the city as no longer tenable, and Lucullus entered Cabira, where he found much treasure.

Cabira soon afterwards changed its name, and was called by Pompey, Diospolin; and Pythodorus is said to have given it the appellation of Sebaste; Pliny writes Sevastia, which name, but very slightly corrupted, has remained ever since.

Under the Byzantine Empire, Sebaste was an episcopal seat, and considered to be in Lesser Armenia, for Socrates mentions one Eustathius as bishop of Sebastia in Armenia.

At the period of the early inroads of the Turkomans Diogenes Romanus had his head-quarters here; but a short time after the sacking of Iconium, Manuel Comnenus was defeated in the same neighbourhood, and made prisoner, in which state he remained until, by a curious reverse of fortune, his captor, falling under the

displeasure of the Sultan, went over with his prisoner to the Greek emperor.

The Seljukiyan Sultans first established themselves at this town, and only afterwards removed, when flying before Gengiz Khan to Koniyeh, where they founded the Allau-d-din dynasty of kings.

Sivas fell under the power of the Circassian mercenaries of the Mameluke Sultans, and they in their turn were driven thence by one of the Alai-Doulet Princes of Kaiseriyeh (A.D. 1403, HEG. 888).

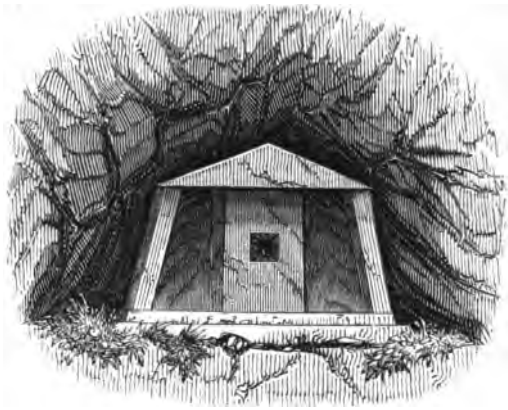
The citizens rebelled against this yoke, and Amasiyeh having at that time gone over to Bayazid, the Osmanli Sultan marched against Sivas, which was given up by the inhabitants, and he left his son Suleiman to govern the country.

On the inroad of Timour, the first Tatars who arrived at Sivas were cut off by the Turks, who, to show their contempt of the enemy, left the gates open, but were soon obliged to shut them so hurriedly, that they left some of their own horsemen outside, who were slain by the Tatars. Timour himself soon followed and sat down before the city seven days; on the eighth, the walls and towers having been undermined in several places, they were thrown down. The terrified inhabitants then offered to give up the town, but it was too late; the Tatars rushed in, spared neither age nor sex, and razed the city to the ground, saving the governor only, in order to depute him to Bayazid, to report what had become of his strong city of Sivas. It is said that 12,000 Turks lost their lives at this siege.

On the partitioning of the Osmanli and Turkoman

kingdoms, that followed the final overthrow of Bayazid, Sivas was allotted to the Sultans of Koniyeh, whose generals fortified themselves amid the ruins of this once flourishing city, till Mohammed I., Sultan of the Osmanlis, sent a general of the name of Bayazid, against the last of the Turkoman chieftains, who being made prisoner, and the city subjected, was well treated by, and taken into the service of, the Osmanlis.

CHAPTER XXVII.



Tomb of a King of Pontus.

Journey from Sivas to Tokat. Ancient Commana Pontica. The Yeshil Irmak—ancient Iris. Country of the Amazons. Country of the Chalybeans. Valley of the Iris. Town of Zela. Cæsar's Victory. Situation of Amasiyeh. Tombs of the Kings of Pontus. Osmanli History.

The road from Sivas northwards leads up narrow ravines, with water courses much charged with lime, and depositing large accumulations of travertino. We ascended from these ravines to a nearly level upland, along which we travelled several hours without anything to attract our attention or excite interest. We made the first nine post hours in six and half, and arrived at the village of Karkhun, close to a lofty and remarkable conical mountain, designated Yuldus Tagh (Star Mountain). According to the Antonine Itinerary, there were

two stations between Sebastopolis (Turkhal) and Sebastia (Sivas), viz., Virisam and Phiarisi, the latter of which corresponds by position and the distances given with the existing post station.

July 10*th*. This day we rode to Tokat, nine post hours, done in about seven. On passing the mountain-chain of the Chamlu Bel, corresponding to the ancient Scydisses, we observed on an isolated brook several pelicans and black storks. Do these birds breed in the mountains? An epidemic was raging among the cattle. The rapid descent effected from the Chamlu Bel to the sweet valley of Tokat, manifested itself at this season of the year in a striking manner by the natural productions. Cherries were already gone by, while apricots, plums, French beans, common beans, and spinach were in season.

Tokat is a large town beautifully and picturesquely situated in a rocky and wooded ravine, out of the centre of which rises a bold naked mass of rock, bearing on its summit the ruins of an ancient castle. The houses are mostly two stories high, all tiled; the streets are neat and clean, the market place open and roomy, and the gardens are numerous and inviting, the vines being trelliced as in parts of Italy. The town is also watered by a rivulet; and while it most resembles an European town of any in Lesser Asia, it would also make the pleasantest residence in the country.

It is essentially an Armenian town, the number of houses being, from information received at two different visits that I have made to this place, 2000 Armenian houses and 800 Mohammedan, or a total of 2800 houses. It is very remarkable how much the population of

Asiatic towns has been overrated by travellers, and few more so than that of Tokat, for which take the following estimates as collected by Balbi.

Gardanne, 3300 houses, at 5 souls to each	16,500
At 10 souls, as put by Balbi	33,000
Salvatori, 3330 houses	16,500
Anonymous Itinerary	50,000
Dupré	60,000
Kinneir	60,000
St. Martin, 16,000 houses ?	
Fontanier, 18,000 houses ?	
Morier, 20,000 houses ?	

If we granted a population of 10 souls to each house, the population would only amount to 28,000, but many houses are ruinous; most of the Mohammedan houses contain a very scanty population; those of the Christians are more peopled, and many houses contain several families, hence the round number of 20,000 perhaps best represents the population of Tokat.

At Tokat are the furnaces for refining the copper from the mines of Arghana, and which have been lately superintended by a well qualified gentleman from Vienna. There are many manufactures in the town, of cloths, silk stuffs, cottons, carpets, and especially vessels of copper. It is the seat of an Armenian bishop.

Tokat was in ancient times a place of much importance as a seat of worship, and known as the Commana Pontica, in contradistinction to the Commana Cappadocia, both, according to Strabo, being consecrated to the same goddess Bellona:

* * * * Vel exsectos lacerat Bellona Comanos.
VAL. FLACC., lib. vii. *Argon.* v., 636.

The power and dignity of the hierarch was so great,

that he was esteemed next to the king. Cicero notices the place as "fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi."

When Pontus became a Roman province the Commana of Pontus changed its name to Manteium. Pliny says, "Commana, now Manteium, that is, "the Oracle;" and Socrates styles it, *Τὸ Μαντιιον.* During the widowhood of Eudocia, and the minority of her sons, it fell into the hands of the Turkomans, whom Diogenes Romanus sent an army to drive out of it, under the command of Ruselius. This general succeeded; but shortly afterwards, the troops going out to forage, they were cut to pieces by the Turks, by whom the city was recaptured. Diogenes sent Bryennius, and afterwards Basiliacus, to its relief, but without success; and the former was at length made prisoner, and taken before the Turkoman chief, called Ak Khan (White Khan).

The Turkomans of Tokat threw off the Persian yoke in the time of Gengis Khan, and their chief styled himself Sultan, among whom we find one called Ahmed Alau-d-din, in the time of Bayazid. In the year 1471 Yusuf Bey, a general of Uzun Hasan (Long John), Prince of Kaiseriyeh, invaded the district of Tokat, but was defeated by Mustafah, general of the Sultans of Koniyeh. It ultimately fell into the hands of the Osmanlis, in the time of Selim I. (A.D. 1514, HEG. 921).

Old Sir Paul Rycaut calls it Mantiziocert, an Armenian termination to its first Roman name, but it was better known by its Byzantine name of Eudocia, Eudoxina, or Eutochia, and from whence apparently its modern designation of Tokat.

July 11*th.* We turned this day down the beautiful valley of the Yeshil Irmak (Green River), which, near

Tokat, is full of gardens, and crowded with villages and country houses.

The Yeshil Irmak, the ancient Iris, has its sources in the union of the Chamlu Bel and the Akloh Tagh, at the head of the valley of Tokat. Flowing hence it enters a wide and marshy plain, from which it turns northward, by narrow ravines, past Turkhal and its rocky castle (Sebastopolis), till it again enters a fertile open valley, near Amasiyeh, where it is joined by a tributary from the west, corresponding to the ancient Scylax. The united rivers flow through the centre of the town of Amasiyeh, below which they receive the waters of the Karmili Su (Schonak of some writers), the ancient Lycus, which is itself composed of two streams, the Ovah Admish and the Kalkhat Chaye, that unite considerably below the lofty and romantic city of Kara Hisar.

The united Iris, Scylax, and Lycus flowed, according to Strabo (who was a native of Amasia), through the Campus Pharnacæam, which appears to be the same as that into which Mithridates endeavoured to draw the Romans. The river then entered the country of the Themiscyri to pour itself into Pontus, ten miles below the town of Charshambeh, a town that was originally built by Mithridates, according to Appian, for his queen Eupatoria, and was named after her. Pompey took a fancy to the same town, and embellished it, calling it Magnopolis, and attached certain territories to it, whence Strabo says it was in Magnopolitide.

It is related by the commentators of Apollonius, that

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* Transgressus Lycum fluvium in campum patentem provocavit Romanos.—PLUTARCH, *in Lucullo.*

the Amazons had a city on the plain of Themiscyra, their chief residence being, however, in the valley of the next river, the ancient Thermodon, and the modern Termeh Su. The existence of these chivalrous females appears, however, to be entirely fabulous, as it rests entirely on the authority of the historians of the Argonautic expedition, Apollonius and Valerius Flaccus and was sung to the Romans, by Propertius,

> Qualis Amazonidum nudatis vellica mammis
> Thermodontæis turbæ lavatur aquis.—Lib. iii., Eleg. xiv.

And by Virgil, who is more tasteful,

> Quales Threiciæ quum flumina Thermodontis
> Pulsant et pictus bellantur Amazones armis.—Lib. xi., v. 659.

They were, however, never seen but by the Argonauts; for in the battle between Pompey and the Albanians, which took place on the Thermodon, though Plutarch relates, that it was supposed that the Amazons were also engaged, as the Romans met among the plunder of the field bucklers in the form of a half moon, and such buskins as poetry had depicted the Amazons to be accoutred in, yet it is acknowledged that no bodies of woman were found among the dead. Indeed, already at that time it was attempted to be shown that they did not inhabit these countries, but that part of Caucasus which stretches towards the Hyrcanian Sea, so that they may be represented by the modern Circassians, more celebrated for love than war.

On the plain of the Thermodon, called by Apollonius, that of Dæantes, from the brothers Dæas, was also a city called Chalybia. It appears that that industrious and ancient people, the Chalybdes, had several towns besides this settlement on the Thermodon; and

Pomponius Mela relates, that they even had possession of Sinope and Amisus, the two richest ports on the coast. This interesting nation is supposed by Colonel Chesney to be a remnant of the Chaldeans of old*, their name being corrupted, and they are on that account deserving of a moment's notice from us.

It is certain that their geographical distribution was very wide. Stephanus notices them on the Thermodon; Apollonius describes the Argonauts as navigating a day and a night from the Thermodon before they came to the land of the Chalybiæ; and we have the important authority of Xenophon, that they extended much farther east, and that they occupied the mountainous country east of Trapezon. According to Herodotus, they were reduced by Crœsus, king of Lydia, and a statement of Strabo's confirms that of Xenophon. In modern times they have been found as far east as Lazistan by my friend Mr. Thomson, of the Persian Embassy, and Mr. W. J. Hamilton found them in the mountainous regions of Pontus, engaged in their ancient employment of digging iron from the soil, an occupation noticed by Xenophon, and alluded to by Apollonius and also by Valerius Flaccus.

To return from this digression upon Amazons and Chalybeans, the rich and fertile plain through which the Iris flowed on leaving Commana Pontica, was known to the geographer of Amasia by the name of Daximonitide, and in it we passed the village of Tunguz, and then Bazar, a large village, with market-place, and growing

* Strabo positively designates them as Chaldeans.

much hemp in the neighbourhood, and a little beyond is the cassabah of Yirmurta (Eggs). Altogether this is a most productive and populous district; but the same valley, immediately beyond where the river leaves it to enter the Turkhal hills, changes its character altogether, and becomes in its centre a mere marsh, with occasional lakes, and beyond an extensive greensward, void of trees and habitations, nowhere cultivated, and only here and there relieved from its naked monotony by an encampment of wandering pastoral Kurds. This is the Gaduira of Strabo: "Veterem regiam nunc autem desertam." We crossed hence a low range of limestone hills; the character of the country again changed, it became cultivated and fertile, and we found ourselves passing the gardens and then entering the town of Zela, which preserves the name it was known by to the Romans.

It is still a large populous and busy town, containing 4000 houses of Mohammedans, and 150 of Armenians; we were kindly received in an odah attached to the church of the latter. The chief business here is the manufacture of cord and rope, but there is also a considerable demand for manufactures. The houses are good, mostly of two stories, and have tiled roofs as at Tokat. The castle is in the present day but a poor and ruinous edifice. It occupies a hill of no great height, but which domineers over the town, as described in the Commentaries of Cæsar.

It appears from the notices of historians that Zela was a place of great antiquity. It is described by Strabo as having owed its origin to Semiramis and having a temple to Anaïtide (Anahid). The power and riches

of the Pontiff of Zela* are described as great, and a vast concourse of people had gathered round it. Hirtius, in his History of the Alexandrine Wars, describes the situation of the town at length and accurately. The castle, he says, is built above the waters on a mound, and the town upon several hills around the castle, that are deeply cut up by valleys or ravines. Indeed, the whole valley of Zela is hilly, but domineered over by adjacent hills of greater height. It was on one of these hills, three Roman miles from the town, that Mithridates defeated the Romans under Triarius, who was killed in the battle.

While Cæsar was spending his time with the beautiful and intellectual Cleopatra, Pharnaces the son of Mithridates recovered all Pontus to its ancient sovereignty, driving the Roman governor, Domitius, before him. The activity and energy displayed by Cæsar, under such circumstances, are truly remarkable. It must have been a long and difficult march, full of fatigue and privations to the soldiers, from Syria to Zela. On such occasions the Romans appear, by their indefatigability and indomitable courage, to have almost merited the countries which their ambition had subjected. The account which Cæsar gave to his friend Amintius of his easy victory over Pharnaces, is known to every schoolboy, and as Plutarch remarks, the three words having

* Ptolemy, Cæsar, and Plutarch, write the name of the city Ζηλα, and Zela; Pliny and Hirtius write Ziela; the former places it by mistake on the Thermodon. Dion Cassius writes Ζελεια. The Ecclesiastical Notices of the Byzantine Empire place it in Helenopontus.

the same form and termination adds grace to their conciseness.

July 12*th*. We quitted Zela, by gardens of luxuriant vegetation and well watered, entered ravines rocky but verdant with overhanging trees, and ascended thence stony hills, covered with prickly oak and other shrubs. After a ride of some hours we discerned the valley of the Iris to our right, this river flowing through a narrow wooded ravine. Shortly afterwards we descended into the valley of the river, where it opened some miles previous to receiving the Scylax, and was everywhere occupied by mulberry plantations, vineyards, gardens, and country houses. On a previous journey, I had gone from Tokat to Amasiyeh by Turkhal, also called (in the Jehan Numa) Keshan Kaleh-si, and from thence by the hills and valley of Uzun Boghaz (Long Pass), or Injeh Bazar (Small Market), the approach by which to Amasiyeh is much less picturesque and striking, than when following the road from Zela. We travelled three hours along these gardens, altogether eight hours from the one town to the other.

On approaching Amasiyeh, the valley narrows considerably, and is ultimately shut up by lofty precipices, that rise from 800 to 1000 feet, almost perpendicularly above the river, leaving but a small strip of land on either side, upon which the houses of this ancient city are crowded. Ferahad Tagh, which has an aqueduct hewn on its acclivities, to which is attached a poetical local tradition, is the first mountain that presents itself to the south; it is succeeded by two others which form a kind of bay, up the acclivities of which the houses rise for some distance. On the opposite,

or north side, is a still bolder and almost equally lofty mountain, on the summit of which are the ruins of an extensive castle, the stone ramparts of which are carried up and down precipices, and over crags, where it would be thought the foot of man could hardly ever have ventured.

Below these ruins, on the vertical face of the precipice, and in an apparently almost inaccessible position, are the colossal tombs, generally admitted to be those of the kings of Pontus. Like the tomb of Ieesius, they are square, or nearly oblong masses, hewn out of the solid rock, with a small central aperture, and more or less rude pilasters of large proportions, and supporting equally rude semi-circular arches. They are four in number, and we took a sketch of each of these remains of Pontic art. One of them has a triangular front.

Amasia was the residence of the kings of Pontus, and the capital city of their kingdom*. Coins of the time of Marcus Aurelius, Severus (Hadrian), Caracalla, and Alexander Severus, all record it as the first city in Pontus. It was a metropolis during the Byzantine Empire, but fell at an early period into the hands of the Turkomans, for we find in the time of John Comnenus, the Sultan of Koniyeh dividing his possessions among his three sons, to one of whom Amasiyeh was allotted.

It was first reduced under Osmanli dominion by Bayazid, in the year of the Hegira 794 (A.D. 1392). At the death of Bayazid, one of his sons, Mohammed,

* Strabo writes it Amaseæ; Pliny and Hierocles, Amasia; Ptolemy, Amasiæ; Procopius, Amasea.

who appears to have exerted himself much in clearing that part of the country from the Tatars who had followed Timour, called himself Sultan of Amasiyeh, but soon afterwards acknowledged fealty to his elder brother Suleiman. On the death of this prince, however, Mohammed seized on Brusa, and having defeated Musa Chelebi, was declared Sultan of the Osmanlis by the title of Mohammed I. The Sultan afterwards built a stately palace at the seat of his early fortunes. During the reign of Murad II., that prince's fifth son, Ahmed, ruled at Amasiyeh, and was succeeded by Alau-d-din, second son of the same Sultan. Ahmed was buried in this city. During the lifetime of Mohammed II. his son Bayazid, after Bayasid II., was governor of Amasiyeh. In the time of Selim I. his brother Ahmed ruled at the same place, and during the same reign a fearful tragedy was enacted in this hitherto happy and flourishing town.

It appears that on the revolt of certain Turkomans, Ferhad Pasha was sent to Amasiyeh, and pretending, or having really found, that rebellion existed among the inhabitants, he impaled 600 persons of note; others he beheaded, and the rest were dragged through the streets at horses' tails. Horrors of this kind have left an indelible stain on the Osmanli name; the memory of the fact has been kept up by the name of an adjacent mountain where the tragedy was in part enacted, and as the wealthiest inhabitants and oldest inhabitants in the neighbourhood are still Turkomans, they preserve from generation to generation the same feeling of latent hostility to the Osmanlis. While we were at Amasiyeh we lodged in a large mansion of one of the old Turko-

man beys, built on the river's edge, the tenant of which received us out of pure hospitality. There was no sympathy expressed at the present untoward position of affairs; but when a bey arrived, which happened the same day, from Constantinople, and brought intelligence that the new Sultan, Abdul Medjid, had promised, as soon as his relations with foreign powers would permit him, to resume the old costume, to discard the unfortunate nizám, and return to the old order of things, a momentary gleam of sunshine and of re-awakened energies came over the countenances of these old bearded and bigoted Mussulmans.

In the earlier part of the reign of Suleiman I., his son Mustafa was Prince of Amasiyeh, but his conduct on the first Persian campaign having subjected him to suspicion, he was put to death. It was upon this occasion that Suleiman enacted the law, which has ever since been adhered to, that the sons of emperors should not in future hold any governments, and from that period Amasiyeh became a mere pashalik, whose local history is never distinct from that of the remainder of the empire.

The modern town of Amasiyeh contains a population of 18,000 souls, of whom about 5000 are Armenians (Fontanier says 10,000 houses), chiefly employed in the manufacture of silk. The general character of the town is that of opulence, and there are many handsome mansions of haughty Turkoman and Osmanli beys. It is governed by a mutesellim, under the Pasha of Sivas, and is also the seat of an Armenian bishop. Besides its castle it contains the ruins of a temple, and a handsome jami, built by Sultan Bayazid.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

tart from Amasiyeh. Oriental Ideas of Quarantine. Samsun—ancient Amisus. Gozo—Thermæ Pharnezonitarum. Merzivan—Pharnezon. The Lover's Khan. Disbanded Troops. Valley of the Devrek (Doros), in Cimiatene. Town of Tosiyeh—Docia. Tcherkesh—Antoniopolis. Boli—Hadrianopolis. Arrival at Constantinople.

As we left Amasiyeh, we met a train of artillery, the guns drawn by buffaloes, on their tardy way to reinforce the Serasker. Quitting the valley of the Yeshil Irmak, we ascended by a ravine with gardens to the plain of Merzivan, leaving the town of that name some miles to our left, whence we advanced at first, over barren hills, into the interminable wooded ranges of hills, that occupy the whole littoral of the Asiatic peninsula. After a ride of eight post hours performed in seven, we arrived at the village of Ladik, one of the several ancient Laodiceas. This poverty-stricken village, consisting of only a few cottages, made a remarkable Mohammedan display, for it possessed a jami with two menarehs and another with one. The roofs of pieces of deal board held on by stones were also in some houses replaced by tiles, a sign of some improvement; there were the ruins also of a Greek church. We found a European living in the village, who was engaged in collecting leeches, a trade which has of late years been attended with such success, as to be now farmed out by government.

The next day (July 14th), we continued our ride through the same wooded hills, occasionally broke up by

valleys, with villages, rivulets, and some cultivation. In the evening we arrived at Kawak (Poplar Village), a post station in the forest, where we had to seek for rest in the menzil-khan, but in vain, the number of insects putting it out of the question.

July 15th. Still through the same hills and forests. As we approached the sea, the valleys became deeper, and hence the hills appeared loftier, and here we found, as on other parts of the coast, that these secluded vales were occupied by colonies of Greeks, who tilled, with most praiseworthy industry, the steepest acclivities, gradually clearing away the forests, and perching their picturesque-looking cottages like eagles' eyries, high up upon the mountain side.

We arrived late in the evening at Samsun, where we were lucky enough to get a cleanly room. Early next morning a medical officer called upon us, to say that the plague was prevalent in the neighbourhood, and that we must perform quarantine; we naturally inquired how this was to be done, when we were politely informed that it might be accomplished in our own apartment, which we were not to leave for two days, and to see as little company as possible. When the medical gentleman was gone we began putting the quarrantine in force by going out to inquire after the steamer, when we learnt the sad intelligence that the Seraf steamer had gone ashore, and was now in the hands of a gentleman sent down by Mr. Black, of Constantinople, to take charge of her. Two days had elapsed beyond the usual period of the arrival of the other steamer, and great doubts existed as to when she might again appear off this station. I was not well, and returned under these

circumstances to our odah. Messrs. Russell and Rassam went, however, on board the Seraf, where the gentleman in charge of her was polite enough to offer us a passage, if we would run the chance, in the then disabled state of the vessel, to put into Sinope. I preferred, however, hastening on, on horseback, which was kindly acceded to by the rest of the party, and we started from Samsun the same evening, accompanied by the tatar who had been sent with us by Hafiz Pasha. It was, perhaps, lucky that we adopted this plan, for the Seraf did not arrive at Constantinople till a long time after us, and after having lost the chief engineer, an Englishman, and I believe others, by the plague breaking out on board.

Samsun is a very pretty port, small but cleanly, with an exposed harbour. It has a good khan, market-place, serai, jamis, and several forts, not, however, of very ancient date. Near to it is a large village, or suburb of Greeks, called Kadi Keuy (Judge Ville). The population of the town and suburb is estimated at 7500 to 8000 souls. It is now the seat of a British vice-consul, who with enterprise may monopolize the markets of Amasiyeh, Zela, Tokat, and Sivas; which again supply the towns and villages around.

Samsun was one of the ancient Greek colonies, founded on the shores of the Euxine; it owed its origin, according to Strabo, to the Milesians, and was called Amisus*. Plutarch is thus wrong in calling it a colony

* Arrian like Strabo writes it Amisus; Pliny in the neuter gender, Amisum liberum, made free by Lucullus. It is so also on the coins of Hadrian, Ælius Verus, and Caracalla.

of Athenians, planted at a time when their power was at its height, and they were masters of the sea. The Athenians only fled thither from the tyranny of Aristion, and were admitted to the privilege of citizens.

It is said to have been reduced by the Persian forces, under a general of Ardashir's (Artaxerxes), called by the Greeks Datamon. It was after this, like the other Greek cities, free till conquered by the kings of Pontus, who sometimes made it the place of their residence, as we learn from Cicero. The soldiers of Lucullus called it "a rich and flourishing city." The Roman general spent much time in its siege in vain, and he left Murena before it, when he marched against Mithridates.

We rode only three hours this evening through the forests, and brought up by the side of a spring; my illness had increased upon me, and I passed the night in constant sickness. The next morning (July 17th), we rode five hours to Kawak, where we changed horses; we then deviated from the road by which we had come hither, taking a more westerly course, but still through the same forest-clad hills, with deep muddy roads, that are almost impassable in winter time. After a further long ride of eight post hours, we arrived at Gozo, the Thermæ Pharnezonitarum, and which, from the extent of its ruins, appears to have been the most frequented baths that I have met with in Lesser Asia. There are, even at the present moment, no less than three large Mohammedan edifices, two of which succeeded one another, following the course of the waters, which changed their outlet and broke out in a lower part of the valley. But not only have they changed their place, but their temperature has also, in modern times, like

the hot springs of Antioch, fallen off considerably; and they are no longer in such great request. We bivouacked here in open air, and passed a pleasant night.

July 18*th*. The country between the Thermæ Pharnezonitarum and the town of Pharnezon, the modern Merzivan (which is a mere corruption of names), becomes more hilly with deep rocky ravines. The interval was, however, effected in four hours' ride, and at the menzil-khan we changed our horses, and our tatar, the one from Malatiyeh, left us to return to Hafiz Pasha, while we luckily found another on his way to Stamboul, who joined company with us. Merzivan is a large town with a population of 8000 Mohammedans and 3000 Armenians. It has khans and a goodly market, is surrounded by orchards and gardens, while the plain around is covered with villages and celebrated for its corn.

We encountered an evil here, which we could hardly have anticipated; this was a portion of the disbanded army of Izzet Mehemet Pasha of Angora, who had left that city early in spring by order of the Sultan to join his forces to those of the Serasker; but, jealous of being placed under the command of a pasha junior to himself, Izzet had procrastinated on the road, so that he was only at Derendah (previously noticed), at the time that the fatal battle of Nizib took place. He took this opportunity to declare that there were no more rations, and that the soldiers might seek their homes; this, however, they did not do without plundering the treasury, besides carrying away their arms, and a more ribald, troublesome, impudent, and reckless set of beings than we now fell in with, can scarcely be imagined. At one time while riding onwards, two of them stopped and pointed

their guns at us, uncertain what to do. We rode on, however, as if they were not worthy of notice, and this saved us, for before their minds were made up, we were already at a distance; while, had we resented the attack, or attempted to wrangle or retaliate, they would certainly have shot some of the party.

We arrived in the evening at Menzil Ashiki (the Lover's Post-house or Khan), beautifully situated in a wooded glen, and inhabited by men who act as guards in a pass formerly celebrated for its robberies. Mr. Rassam and I had spent a night at this place but a few years back; the men remembered us, and for a small backshish gave us up the best part of the only room in the khan. This, however, brought upon us a host of ill feeling, and some of the wearied and travelling soldiers did not spare their words or threats. Hardly had we got rid of one party than another came, and each had always some ringleader more ferocious than the rest. The guards endeavoured to keep peace by saying, "A Frank bey, a great bey going to Stamboul from Hafiz Pasha's army;" but it was often in vain. "Look at them," exclaimed a cavalry soldier; "they have not only rest, but food and milk, and we have not a crumb; for a trifle these good things should be mine," laying his hand on his sword and his eyes beaming with passionate excitement. At midnight our tatar, not liking the appearance of things, stole off, and Mr. Russell, who had been very watchful, observed this and urged me to do the same; I, however, recommended him to keep quiet, not to get excited, and all would be well yet; and we got through the night safely, although never was khan more misnamed than on this occasion.

July 19*th*. The next morning we rode six hours through crowds of soldiery, who, however, offered us no further interruption, to Osmanjik. We only waited an hour here to refresh ourselves and change horses, after which we pursued our journey, crossing the bridge and travelling eight post hours to Haji Hamsah, along one of the most beautiful passes of the Halys, where it is hemmed in by lofty mountains with sloping acclivities, always wooded, and only interrupted here and there by precipitous cliffs and rock terraces. Haji Hamsah is a post station of about 500 houses, part of which are inclosed within an old walled-in fort. It is a prettily situated place embosomed among gardens. We slept on one of those open platforms that are so frequently placed before coffee-houses for the faithful to smoke on. In the evening, Rassam had a violent altercation with a Turk who indulged in opprobrious language towards us, but it happily terminated without blows.

July 20*th*. A little beyond Haji Hamsah, the great Constantinopolitan road quits the Halys, to follow the long and remarkable valley of the Devrek Chaye. This valley is, in its lower part, one of the best cultivated and most productive rice plantations in Asia Minor; the villages are numerous, and often picturesquely dispersed in lateral ravines or slopes of the mountains; in places, however, the valley narrows, and becomes rocky and unfertile, in others it is sadly exposed to the devastating influence of mountain torrents, which, in times of great rains or of storms, come down as resistless sheets of water, where, in fine weather, there is not even a brook, carrying everything before them, and leaving behind so many broad pathways, strewn with masses of rock and

piles of stones. At the head of this long valley are the towns of Kara Weran (Black Ruin), and Karauler (The Blacker), on a rude and stony basaltic district. In the valley below is the small town of Koch Hisar, surrounded by populous villages or suburbs. Below this, again, is the thriving town of Tosiyeh, surrounded by gardens and country houses, and at the mouth of the valley is Haji Hamsah. It is altogether about seventy miles in length. To the north it is bounded by the mountain chain of Al Goz (Olgassys), which separates it from the valley of the Gök Su (Amnias); and to the south by the Kush Tagh (Bird Mountains), which divide it from the head tributaries of the river Sakkariyeh, described in our visit to the Ishik Tagh. Nearly at the head of the Al Goz is a lofty and remarkably sharp-pointed mountain, to which we took bearings from the mines of Bakir Kurehsi, and which was known to the ancients by the name of Mons Conica.

This great valley, that of the river Doros, in Cimiatene, was not unknown to the ancients, although by some strange inadvertence omitted in the Tables. According to the notices of Ptolemy, to the east and south-east side of Olgassys were Andrapa and Neo-Claudiopolis, while beyond Mons Conica were Sacorsa and Moson. It is evident that the two former places must be sought for in the lower part of the valley, and correspond to Tosiyeh and Haji Hamsah, in all probability; but where distances are not given, and neither name, tradition, nor inscription preserved, we cannot do more than venture a conjecture. Sacorsa and Moson would, for the same reasons, appear to be represented by Kara Weran and Karauler, both of which, like Tosiyeh

and Haji Hamsah, are ancient sites; but Colonel Leake has already identified the latter with the Anadynata of the Tables, and which it appears to be, from the distances given to Gangra.

We rode nine hours to Tosiyeh, and slept in the menzil-khan. This is still a goodly town, with a population of about 20,000 souls, out of which 3000 are Armenians. There are many jamis and mesjids, khans, hammams, and a good market. In this valley, near to the town, is a high artificial mound; this was probably the site of the castle in which Diogenes Romanus took refuge when liberated by Sultan Hasan, and during the prevalence of the faction of Michael. At this time Tosiyeh was called Docia. It fell, however, into the hands of the Turkomans of Koniyeh in the time of Manuel Comnenus, and was an important post in the wars of the Turkoman princes among themselves; when it was captured by the Osmanlis, which was not until the reign of Mohammed I., it was ruled by the Isfindaberg princes of Kastamuni.

July 21*st*. We rode nine hours further up the valley of Devrek to Koch Hisar (Ram's Castle), a common name in Lesser Asia. We only stopped at this place to change horses and the seruji, which latter transfer was peculiarly desirable, as we could not get him to move at anything beyond a walking pace, and which had led us to quarrel with him on the road. We rode the same afternoon eight post hours further, in all seventeen hours, or fifty-nine miles, to Kara Weran, a small town, rendered remarkable by the ruins of an extensive castle of black basalt, crowning the heights of a not very lofty or precipitous hill of the same rock.

July 22*nd*. We travelled three hours to Karauler, sometimes called Karajiler, where we arrived at day-break, and before any one was up at the menzil-khan, so we had to sit and take a cup of Turkish coffee while waiting for horses. From Karauler the waters flow west to the river of Hammamli and the Filiyas. Our road hence to Tcherkesh lay over a nearly level plain; we met many Persians and other travellers going to the fair of Yaprakli, held in September. The Ishik Tagh, where we had passed the previous formidable winter, lay close to us to our left.

Tcherkesh is a small town; the bazar, which consists of one long street, and the jami, khan, &c., are walled in like a fort; the dwelling-houses are without and to the south of this inclosure. We were here happy enough to obtain a small piece of meat, which we carried away with us. Tcherkesh has been identified by Leake with the ancient Antoniopolis or Antinoöpolis. Immediately beyond the town are the ruins of two stations or guard-houses, evidently Roman; and in a pass in the hills beyond, as a contrast, a modern Osmanli guard-house, as usual converted into a coffee-house. Here we ascended a range of hills, the only spot where I ever found the gooseberry-bush growing wild in these countries. The view from the crest of this range was extensive: the river of Hammamli flowed at our feet in a narrow and deep bed; beyond was an extensive and fertile tract of country, replete with villages, and backed by our old friends, the Sarkhun Yailasi, and hills at the head of the valley of Boli.

We descended to Hammamli, where the river is crossed by a wooden bridge. This is a mere post-

station of about a hundred houses, with the ruins of a serai and fort, once in the possession of Haji Achmet Oghlu, successor to Derah Oghlu, and a partisan of Chapwan Oghlu's, who attempted to re-establish Turkoman supremacy in these quarters. The reduction of this place is said to have been effected only after much bloodshed and with considerable difficulty. The horses were out at pasture, so we were delayed some time; we then started by Bayandir, identified by Leake with the ancient Potamia, now a mere village of a hundred houses, and the first in going west, where geese are met with. From hence we ascended to a valley at a higher level, having a small lake in its centre, and arrived in the evening at Keredeh, the ancient Carus, after a ride, from before daylight to sunset, of twenty post hours, or seventy miles. Keredeh is a busy little town, with a thriving market, and has a population of about 15,000 souls, of whom 3000 are Christians.

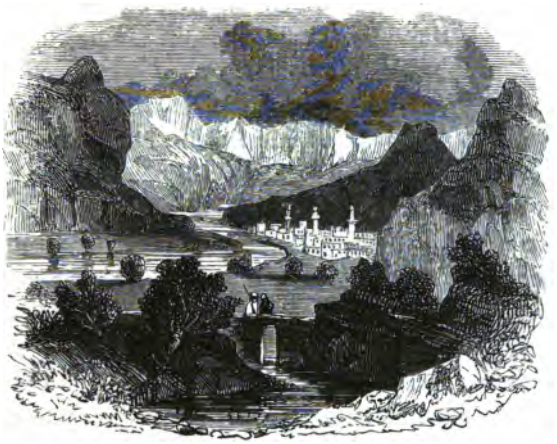
July 23*rd*. Passing a small reed-bound lake, we descended to a plain with much rice cultivation, numerous villages, and a large lake beyond. We ascended thence by rocky, but wood-clad hills, to a guard and coffee-house, which was in part built of marble slabs, covered with Greek inscriptions. After a ride of ten hours, we arrived at the town of Boli, the ancient Hadrianopolis, and situated in a rich and fertile valley, bounded by well-wooded ranges of hills, the prolongation of the Yaila Tagh, and part of the Bithynian Olympus. At Boli we found a Frank medical man superintending the quarantine, but he did not throw any obstacles in the way of smoothing the difficulties of the question by a timely fee; and while some poor travelling Armenians

were hurried for three days into confinement, we were visited in our room, and provided with a sanitory teskereh to pass the bridge of Bostanji Bashi.

In the present day, Boli contains about 1500 houses, and a population of 10,000 souls. The Christian population chiefly live in the suburbs, and amount to about 3000. (Balbi gives a population of 50,000!) The chief trade is in cotton and leather. It is the seat of a Greek bishop, and the residence of a Ferik pasha. Little is said by the ancients of Hadrianopolis; but it is mentioned in the Ecclesiastical Notices as a metropolis.

July 24th. This day we rode from Boli to Duzcha, twelve post hours, or forty-two miles. The road, after quitting the vale of Boli, was carried through one continuous hilly forest. At Duzcha we joined our former line of route, so that I need no longer refer to details, beyond stating that, on the 25th, we arrived at Khandak (twelve hours); the 26th, at Sabanjah, also twelve hours; the 27th, on arriving at Ismid, we got into carts and rode on to Kartal, having made nineteen hours, or sixty-six miles, leaving only four hours for the next morning to arrive at Scutari, and be ferried over to Pera.

CHAPTER XXIX.



Lefkeh.

Delay at Constantinople. Start by the Sea of Marmora. Site of Helenopolis. Pass of the Draco. Lake of Ascanius. Isnik—ancient Nicæa. Mohammedan History. Military operations of the Crusaders. Curious Hydrographical Errors. An Oriental wit. A Traitor Greek. Sugut, first principality of the Osmanlis. Eski Shehr. Manufacture of Meerschaum.

We arrived at Constantinople with a single spare shirt each, and only the clothes that we had on our backs, and our dusty and toil-worn appearance was so forbidding, that people were at first afraid to receive us in their houses. We hastened, on our arrival, to communicate to the Societies the intelligence of our disastrous return from the interior, and to pray their further assistance; for before we could start again we must be stocked anew with clothes, linen, and other wearing apparel, as well as saddles, saddle-bags, beds, carpets,

tent and camp furniture, and all the other paraphernalia of a long expedition, which were all gone, with what constituted the very vitality of the Expedition, the greater part of the instruments, upon which our main utility depended, and which could only be replaced from England. Our books, notes, medicine chest, and various minor losses, entailed by the loss of our baggage, naturally could not be expected to be at once replaced. The Societies acted in a generous manner on the occasion, and met my bills drawn to meet these emergencies, although they were in excess of the funds placed at my disposal. Lord Ponsonby, then her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, also came forward in the most handsome manner to assist us in the same emergency.

New misfortunes, however, awaited us; our long and hurried ride, in a midsummer sun, want of rest, and the sudden change, probably, to the higher diet and tranquillity of Constantinople, soon threw us all three into a severe and dangerous fever. Mr. Russell fell sick first, I followed him, and Mr. Rassam came last. We were laid for upwards of a month in our beds, unable to give one another the least assistance, and our convalescence, as is so generally the case with the fevers in these countries, where much depletion is necessary, from the visceral engorgements by which they are accompanied, was very slow indeed. Mr. Russell was so debilitated as to lead him to wish to return home, a feeling which I was less inclined to oppose, as, after he had well recovered himself there, I was in hope that the Societies would again send him out in charge of the instruments, to join us on the coast of Syria. He

accordingly left Constantinople by the French packet, on the 7th October, but did not return.

It was the end of that month before our arrangements were so far completed as to enable Mr. Rassam and myself to start again; and we engaged a tatar to accompany us, as in the still disturbed state of the country we thought, as we were about to take the lower road through Syria, it would expose us to much inconvenience and annoyance to have every day to fight our own battles for quarters, and which experience had taught us was a constantly reiterated grievance.

The 2nd of November we made good our start from Pera, in a small sailing boat, which was to take us up the Sea of Marmora, as far as Hersek, on the promontory opposite to Harakah. We had a pleasant passage of about five hours, and on our arrival found that the tatar and servant, who had gone by the land road to Harakah, with Mr. Rassam's horse and Russell's black charger, which he had designated Kara Nizib (Black Nizib), had not yet arrived; so we were fain to sleep in this poor village, of about ten houses, with a jami and ruinous menareh.

Hersek, however, is a village of some antiquity, corresponding to the ancient Pronectus, if not Helenopolis; and it was formerly supplied with fresh water by an aqueduct, upwards of two miles in length. The neck of alluvial mud and sand on which this village stands, extends upwards of two miles into the sea, and was originally the delta of the small stream called the Dervend Su, from the pass through which it flows, designated the Girl's Pass (Kiz Dervend) The number of lagoons in the neighbourhood renders the place so

unhealthy that few persons beyond the attendants at the post-house reside there.

Colonel Leake identified this place with Helenopolis, where the Crusaders encamped under Peter the Hermit, when they met with a reverse in the pass of the Draco, supposed to be the same as the Kiz Dervend; but this is doubtful. Nicephorus Callistus says, that Constantine called the town of Drepanum after his mother, Helenopolis, and according to Stephanus, Drepanum was near the Gulf of Astacenus; Cellarius thought that it might lie between Chalcedon and Nicomedia, but this is not the case. The Greek bishop of Nicomedia asserted to us the identity of Sabanjah and Helenopolis, and his authority ought to be of some value, as Helenopolis was an episcopate of the Lower Empire, and the modern Greek Church preserves the notices of its former episcopates; but I suspect in this case that the details given by Anna Comnena and Procopius, combined with other circumstances, are decisive as to the pass of the Draco being the same as the Kiz Dervend, if the site of Helenopolis is not so positive. What, for example, could have induced Constantine to name a paltry village in a marsh after his celebrated mother? while the possession of a country residence at the beautiful Sabanjah might well have entitled it to that distinction.

November 3rd. Early the ensuing morning we started, by a stone causeway, over the marsh, which abounded in wild fowl, and in less than an hour we arrived at the entrance of the gap in the Gök Tagh which allows of the passage of the Draco. It was at first an open and wooded valley, but after about an hour and a half's ride, it narrowed considerably; the course of

the river became at the same time very tortuous, and the bed was hemmed in by naked sandstone cliffs. At the end of these, where the ravines again opened to an expansive valley, there were the ruins of a wall and defences, which had formerly shut up the road through this difficult pass. This may very likely have been the point where the fatal ambuscade, narrated by Anna Comnena, awaited the Crusaders, for Procopius particularly notices that it was at a point where the river bends much.

A little beyond this we crossed the river by the bridge of Walda Kupri, and gained the village of Dervend (the Pass), surrounded by gardens, where we were detained the night for want of horses.

November 4th. The morning was very fine, and our road continued along the same valley, with its now fading plantations of mulberry-trees, whose yellow leaves contrasted well with the more sturdy and lasting foliage of the mountain acclivities. About an hour brought us to the crest of the hills, from whence we obtained our first view of the Lake of Isnik, or of Ascanius, the most picturesque sheet of water in Asia Minor. Its claims to distinction are certainly of a high order. It is mountain-environed, and the offsets of Mount Olympus tower over it to the north-west. These mountains are also covered with trees, but distance renders their effect obscure and dim. There are no islands of importance. Some villages are prettily situated on its shores, and there are some plains with verdant groves. There are also marshes of reeds and sedge-grasses swarming with wild duck, teal, and coots, while the giant pelican breasts the central wavelets or soars in aërial circles over the

wide expanse of waters. Groves of silver-leaved olives rejoice upon reaches of sand-hills piled up by the frequent storms that burst from the mountain heights. The ruins of Nicæa stand apart on the banks of the lake embosomed in the most luxuriant verdure, a landscape of the first order.

We descended from the hills to the plain of Nicæa, *planities magna et frugifera* in Strabo's time, and although now neglected, still verdant and beautiful in the produce of a redundant nature. Two hours' ride brought us to the walls of the city. These are for the most part double, and belong to different periods, being made up of old materials rudely piled together with alternating lines of tiles, the original walls being similar to those of Constantinople. At irregular distances are oblong or round towers, the former mostly built of hewn stones of white marble, the latter with red tiles. This perishing rampart is much covered with climbing and creeping plants, and around and about overgrown or masked by a vigorous vegetation. Three square towers and their connecting walls are, according to Mr. Fellowes, built of the ruins of one magnificent temple.

These walls inclose a nearly quadrangular space upon the banks of the lake, which appear to have been formerly all built upon, but in the present day the town of Isnik does not occupy one-fourth of the precincts, and all that is not occupied by buildings is level with the ground. As we rode over these ruins the shy woodcock sprang up under our feet in what had once been the very heart of the city, and as we approached the modern town, dervishes skulking into fallen monasteries, or dwelling in sepulchral chapels like owls in

ruinous recesses, and sanctified mollahs calling from crumbling menarehs, announced too plainly the character of the present possessors.

There are, however, some industrious Greeks still in this now fallen city, and they have an old church that is kept in good repair. Several of the gates are interesting relics, and have inscriptions on the porches; there also exist the remains of an aqueduct and of a great edifice with subterranean passage, called by the Greeks the Palace of Theodorus, and by Kinneir considered as an amphitheatre. Mr. Fellowes was much struck with the taste displayed in the decorations and architecture of the Yeshil Jami (Green Jami).

But while the eye is dwelling upon the fallen monuments of its prosperity, and tracing amidst the confused mass of its extensive ruins the sites which were devoted to exhibitions of genius or prowess, to the Christian philosopher Nicæa exhibits a higher theme for reflection and calls forth from his bosom a holier sympathy; for here, where the Mohammedan now reigns, the disciples of a more merciful Lawgiver issued that symbol of catholic faith, which the universal church, by the voice of synods and councils, has confirmed throughout the world; the first general council of Christians was, it is well known, held in this city in the year of our Lord 325.

Nicæa in its remote history is said to have been first a colony of Bœotians, when it was called Ancore. It then attracted the notice of Antigonus, who named it after himself, Antigonia, a name which Lysimachus abolished, and after embellishing it, called it after his wife, the daughter of Antipatris, Nicæa. There is a

pretty allegory on its name, contained in the fragments of Memnon of Heraclea, as preserved by Photius. The Bithynian historian says, Nicæa was so named from a nymph, daughter of Cybele and the Sangarius.

Peter the Hermit and his companion Gaultier, having been passed over the Bosphorus, by the duplicity of Alexius, lay two months in the neighbourhood of Nicæa, during which time they took from the Turks the fortress of Xerigordus of some, Exorgum of others.

On the coming up of the main body of the Crusaders under Godefroy de Bouillon, regular siege was laid to the city, but which progressed slowly, as the besieged received supplies and reinforcements across the lake. This means having, however, been cut off by the assistance of boats furnished by Alexius, the city was yielded up the 5th of July, 1097, after a fifty days' siege.

The Crusaders willingly resigned to the Greeks the charge of this, their first conquest against the infidels, and during which they had suffered much, especially from the ambuscade in the Kiz Dervend; and when in after-times the Crusaders, under pretence of avenging the death of the young Alexius, placed Baldwin on the throne of Constantinople, Nicæa became the seat of the kings of the Lascaris family, who governed in that part of Lesser Asia.

Anna Comnena gives a different account of the military operations in Bithynia, in 1096. According to this princess, Peter was encamped at Helenopolis, and it was from thence the Normans proceeded to ravage the country around Nicæa. In a second expedition they occupied the fort of Xerigordus, where many were afterwards taken prisoners; a false report led the other

Crusaders into the pass of Draco, where an ambuscade awaited them, from which, what few saved themselves, got on board ship.

The Latin authors, Albert of Aix la Chapelle, and William of Tyre, lead the Crusaders to Nicomedia, and from thence to a place called Civitob, or Civito, on the sea side. The French troops spreading themselves, took possession of an abandoned fortress called Exerogorgo, where they were captured by the Turks. Soon after this event there was a general action in the field, at the northern extremity of the plain of Nicæa, where Walter the Moneyless and other distinguished leaders were slain, but the chief slaughter occurred in the passages of the mountains, of which the Turks had made themselves masters.

The siege of this city by the Osmanlis, under Orchan, was commenced in A.D. 1329, but it lasted two years, during which the inhabitants were exposed to all the evils of war, famine, and pestilence, before the city was given up.

Orchan entered the city in the year 1330, and as it is stated, the wives of the Greeks, who had perished, having bewailed their widowhood in his presence, the Sultan commanded the Osmanli courtiers and nobles to marry them, and to treat them as honourably as Mohammedan women.

This method which Orchan took to supply his army with wives, to extend the Mohammedan faith, and to ensure the population of his conquests, does not appear to have been disagreeable to the degenerated Greeks, for the annalists tell us, that the fame of Orchan's clemency flying over the neighbouring regions, not only the

Nicæans, of whom great numbers had fled during the siege, but also the inhabitants of other cities and towns not yet subdued by the Osmanlis, flocked to Nicæa; by which means, in the space of one year, the city so abounded with inhabitants, that it seemed to rival even the city of Constantinople.

In the reign of Mohammed I., and about the year 1418, an impostor, who pretended to be an elder son of Bayazid's, supposed to have fallen in the battle against Timour, laid siege to Nicæa, but was vanquished and made prisoner.

In the year 1423, and in the reign of Murad II., the Greeks incited a younger brother of the Sultan's, by name Mustafa, and of whom George Phranza says, "his looks alone indicated him to be an emperor," to aspire to the empire. He was supplied with all necessaries by the Greeks, and Nicæa was fortified as the seat of the future war. On the twenty-fifth day of the siege, Murad took the city by assault, and his brother being made prisoner was strangled in his presence.

On the death of Mohammed II., Bayazid, afterwards the second Sultan of that name, preferred the peaceful retirement of this beautiful city, to the throne of the Osmanlis, which he a long time refused.

November 5th. We left Isnik by a beautiful wooded pass with rivulet, eastward of the lake, and passing Dereh Keuy (Valley Village), turned up the hills to our right, or south, and gained a narrow pass with guard-house, on the descent from which the vale of Lefkeh was observed opening before us in great beauty.

In this valley and immediately below us, the river of Yeni Shehr (Neapolis), the ancient Leuce, falls into

the Sakkariyeh (Sangarius), and the great road is carried over the former river, near its junction, by a bridge of one arch. The river Sangarius, after receiving the Pursak Chaye—the ancient Thymbrius, which flows past Kutayah (Cottiæum) and Eski Shehr* (Dorylæum)—enters

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* Yeni Shehr (New City) was saved from the plunder of the Tatars, by the wit (truly Asiatic as it was) of a man celebrated in Turkish history, by the name of Nasruddin. This man was sent on embassy to Timour by the affrighted citizens, when the Tatar host appeared before the city. As he was leaving his house, being in some doubt as to what kind of present would best propitiate the Tatar, for it appears that they had nothing but fruit to give, he determined to consult his wife. Accordingly he asked her, "Which will be most grateful to Timour, figs or quinces?" "Quinces," replied his wife, "as being larger, more beautiful, and therefore in my opinion likely to prove acceptable." Turkish women are to the present day remarkably fond of quinces. But with the customary deference of a Mohammedan to his wife, Nasruddin reflected that "How good soever advice may be in dubious affairs, a woman's advice is never good, and therefore I will present figs and not quinces." With this determination he hastened to Timour, who ordered him to be introduced bare-headed, and observing his baldness, commanded the figs he brought as a present to be thrown at his head. The servants began to execute the order with due punctuality, Nasruddin at every blow crying out very composedly, "God be praised." Timour, curious to know the reason of this expression, was answered, "I thank God that I followed not my wife's counsel, for had I, as she advised, brought quinces instead of figs, my head must have been broken." Nasruddin became from this moment a person sought after in the court of Timour, but he appears to have been endowed with sentiment and feeling as well as Asiatic wit, for it is related of him, that Timour, on leaving Yeni Shehr, having encouraged him to ask for a present, he requested ten golden crowns, with which he erected a stone gate in the middle of a field. Being

into a rocky district, then passes through a limestone glen, where it receives the river of Bilehjik and Vizir Khan, and then curves round, to flow past the town of Lefkeh, immediately beyond which it receives the river of Yeni Shehr.

In the analysis given in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* of this portion of my journey, the editor applies what I have said of the river of Lefkeh to the Sakkariyeh. In my report I say that I descended into the valley of the Lefkeh Su, and the editor remarks, "Mr. A. says it is here called Sakkariyeh, and supposes it to be the main stream of that river."

It is a still more extraordinary thing, that I should also be at variance upon such a leading point as this, with Colonel Leake, who actually passed through the vale of Lefkeh, yet did not recognise the Sangarius there, except noticing that the natives told him it was there.

His map is absolutely incorrect, for having omitted the Sangarius, he has no river flowing past Lefkeh, while that river washes the whole length of the town. The only river he has marked, is the river of Yeni Shehr (now called, of Lefkeh), which he says is the ancient Gallus, and which he relates having crossed on a bridge, and so did I, for there is no bridge on the Sakkariyeh. But this bridge is, strange to say, only fifty to one

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asked the purpose of so extraordinary a gate, he answered, "The fame of this gate shall be transmitted to the latest posterity, with Timour's victories, and whilst the monument of Nasruddin's actions shall move the laughter of those that visit it, Timour's exploits shall draw tears from the remotest regions."

hundred yards from where the Lefkeh disembogues itself into the unnoticed river, three or four times its width, and which constitutes the main stream of the Sangarius. To endeavour to render this question more intelligible, I have subjoined a rough sketch of the vale of Lefkeh, from near the junction of the rivers.

The modern town of Lefkeh contains about 400 houses, of which 100 are inhabited by Greeks. It is a bustling little town, and its market is much frequented by the neighbouring villagers. Situated in the very heart of the earliest dominions of the Osmanlis, it is noticed by Oriental historians as paying tribute at the time that Osman published his first edict against Christianity.

We did not stop in Lefkeh beyond the time necessary for changing horses, when we pursued our way over a cultivated country till we came to a range of precipitous limestone hills, with the river of Bilehjik flowing at their foot amid extensive plantations of mulberry-trees. We turned through a deep rent in these hills, and a few miles beyond found ourselves, at the fall of evening, in the town of Khusrev Pasha, or Vizir Khan, containing one hundred Greek and fifty to sixty Mohammedan families. The mulberry-groves of this neighbourhood furnish annually 4000 okahs of silk to the Brusa market.

November 6th. The ensuing day we still ascended the vale of the Bilehjik river, till we left it on our right hand to ascend to a hill country, whence we could perceive the remarkable little town of that name, perched upon a crag, overhanging the valley of the river. This town possessed much interest in our eyes, as being

the scene of one of the first of those exploits which paved the way to the rapid supremacy of Islamism over Christianity in these countries.

According to Turkish historians, in the year of the Hegira 698, Michael, surnamed Koseh, that is, Goat's Beard, governor of Bilehjik, invited Osman, then bey of Shughut, to a feast on the occasion of his daughter's nuptials. Whereupon, other Greek chieftains concerted measures to seize the person of Osman; but this having been communicated to the Turk by Michael, he used stratagem for stratagem, and ordered some hundreds of soldiers to conceal themselves near the place, whilst forty well-armed young men, dressed like women, were to enter in the evening into the castle of Yar Hisar, and in the night set fire to it. Osman himself repaired with a slender retinue to Shakur Bunar (Sugar Spring), where the nuptial feast was to be held. The forty disguised soldiers entering Yar Hisar set the town on fire, and in the confusion seized the gates and fortifications, while Osman, perceiving by the flames that his stratagem had succeeded, gave the signal for the soldiers in ambush to take their arms, and all the Greeks present, except Michael, were either made prisoners or slain. Among the captives was the bride Lulufah (by the Greeks called Kalophira), whom Osman afterwards married to his son Orchan, by whom she had Suleiman and Murad, which last was Orchan's successor to the throne.

The Christian historians do not narrate this circumstance of a noble Greek bride thus becoming by accident the mother of a future race of Osmanli sultans; they make Michael governor of Kirmen Kaleh, and the marriage festival was that of the governor of Bilehjik

with the daughter of the governor of Yar-Hisar, and Osman surprised Bilehjik first. The conduct of Michael is, however, related as the same, and he appears to have been a traitor both to his countrymen and his religion, for he was one of the first, on the publication of Osman's edict against Christianity, to become a renegade; and he also assisted by his intrigues in producing the downfall of Brusa.

In the evening we arrived at Sugut, pronounced Shugut or Shuyut, the first residence in Lesser Asia of the founder of the Osmanli dynasty. According to Demetrius Cantemir, Ertogrul, the son of Suleiman, who was drowned in crossing the Euphrates, having assisted the Sultan of Koniyeh in his wars, had this place given to him by the Turkomans as a beyship, and was buried here; the same historian calls it Suguchik. Rycaut says, Osman, who was the grandson of Suleiman, had at the commencement of his empire, only the city of Suguta "as one poor lordship."

In the present day Sugut is a pretty little town of about 400 houses, nearly equally divided between Christians and Muselmans. The jami, where repose the ashes of the father and brother of Osman, is the object of much veneration. The houses of the Christians are all of two stories and contain several families; hence the Christian population exceeds that of the Mohammedans and is richer, the Turks being as usual, rulers, priests, coffeehouse-keepers, barbers, tobacco-dealers, and idlers.

November 7th. Travelled over the wooded heights of the Tomanji Tagh, the ancient Tmolus (noticed by Homer), and sometimes called by Turkish historians, Karajah Tagh, which has led to many mistakes, for

Sultan Onghi, now called In Onghi, one of the early gifts of Alau-d-din to the Osmanlis, is not in the actual Karajah Tagh, but at the southern foot of these hills near Bosavik.

It took us three hours to cross this range of hills, when we entered upon an open but undulating country, only cultivated in the valleys. On one of these bare and exposed heights we observed fragments of columns and hewn stones, apparently the ruins of a Greek church. An hour beyond we began to descend towards a very extensive and fertile plain, in a remote part of which we could just discern the site of Eski Shehr, but it took us three more hours before we reached the bridge upon the Pursak Chaye, which leads into the lower part of the town.

Eski Shehr (Old Town) is divided into two parts, one of which, the smallest, contains the market, a large khan, and a few other buildings; the other portion is at the foot of some low hills, half a mile beyond, and here all the space that is not occupied by houses is covered with graves, which fill up streets and even yards and gardens.

I visited here the manufactory where the mineral, called by the Germans *meerschaum* (sea-foam or spray), not from its white colour but from its peculiarity of swimming in water, is prepared for exportation, for pipes are not made out of it at Eski Shehr. I found the stone to be a hydrated silicate of magnesia, the coarser specimens of which, when carefully examined with a glass, showed each separate grain to be clear and transparent, and only decomposing on its surface into a kind of porcelain or kaolin; but the varieties most sought

after were uniform, homogenous, with a cerous lustre, and easily cut with a knife, and there is a large quantity rejected before the choice pieces are cut out for polishing, which is done by rubbing them with pieces of cloth previous to being packed up in wooden cases for exportation. This business, is as usual, in the hands of Christians; the Turks content themselves with taxing their industry.

As Dorylæum, this city was fortified by Manuel Comnenus, but soon fell into the hands of the Turkomans, and when Osman was bey of Sugut it was ruled by a delegate of the Sultan of Koniyeh, who was head of all the country round, and who became a rival, even to warring, in a love affair with young Osman.

CHAPTER XXX

Phrygian Tomb.

Seyyid el Ghazi. Phrygian Tombs. Town and Plain of Bulavadin. Towns at foot of Sultan Tagh. City of Koniyeh—Iconium. Mohammedan Buildings. Kara Bunar (Black Spring). Crater of a Volcano. Entrance of the Cilician Gates. Pass of the Golek Boghaz. Defences of the Egyptians. Change of Vegetation. Ruins in Taurus. Scenery of Passes in Taurus. Cilician Gates. Reception at Adanah. Egyptian Generals. Antiquities.

The great plain of Eski Shehr is about eight miles in width by thirty in length, level and uniform, without trees or groves, but generally cultivated, and has many villages. The ranges of hills which bound this plain are also of tame rounded outline, and treeless, which adds to the monotony of the scenery.

November 9th. On our ascent of these hills we found meerschaum *in situ* in siliceous beds. We entered a country of uplands, generally cultivated, without wood, and sometimes breaking off in low rock terraces. Further

on the hills became covered with shrubs, and the country, from cultivation, changed to wide grassy plains.

The sheep of this central upland of Strabo's Phrygia Epictetos,—which has an average elevation of 3000 feet, besides being open and exposed,—have clean and light fleeces, and the goats have, as in similar situations throughout Western Asia, an underdown, although their fleece is not so silky as that of the true Angora or Kurdistan breed. These goats are further remarkable for their short horns and their various colours, being generally reddish brown and black, but sometimes black and white, or reddish brown and white.

We descended from these uplands by a valley with small river, on the opposite side of which, at the foot of some rocky cliffs, and extending up a ravine in the same, was the little town of Seyyid el Ghazi, celebrated for a tomb, on which the name of Midas is still to be deciphered. The town itself contains about 600 houses of Mohammedans, by whom it is much venerated, on account of the saint who lies entombed here. His imam, and an attached tekiyyeh or dervishes' monastery, in not quite so ruinous a condition as usual, are picturesquely perched upon the cliffs above the town.

It was at Seyyid el Ghazi that Suleiman, in his second campaign against the Persians, received his son Selim, governor of Magnesia, and who, on this occasion, to fulfil the ambitious wishes of his mother, the Russian sultana Khurrem, whom the French made a native of their own country under the name of Roxellana, was sent into Europe to assume the reins of government.

November 10th. Proceeding up this ravine, we gained a dark country of basalts, with shrubs, and beyond this

a more fertile district of limestone, covered with wood of higher growth. A small fertile valley in the midst of this wooded district contained a village of about 100 houses, called Bardak Chili Keuy (Partridge Ville), where are remains of ancient buildings, and the fronts of some of the houses were supported by rows of pillars belonging to the architecture of the middle ages. The mezar of this village was also remarkable for the lofty slabs of stone which ornamented the graves.

Forests of tall pines crowned the heights we crossed beyond this village, while to the left, at a few miles' distance, was the chain of the Emir Tagh, with square-topped and rounded summits, also well wooded. We then passed a cultivated plain with dispersed country houses, entered again into a sandy pine forest, and ultimately arrived, amidst pouring rain, at the wretched village of Khusrev Pasha, the Khosrau (Chosroes) of the Persians.

This village contained about 200 houses, and a large central Christian church, which, as at Nizib, had been converted into a jami, with an attached menareh. We were quartered here in a wretched room over the menzil-khan.

November 11*th*. We continued our journey through forests which skirted the foot of Emir Tagh. We soon entered this range of hills by a narrow glen, dark from overhanging pine-trees. We then winded some time among hills, till the view opened upon a noble and expansive vale, surrounded by the wood-clad hills of Emir Tagh, deciduous oaks predominating on the acclivities, pines on the crest. This range was indeed tame in outline and not very lofty, but from its abundant

wood and varied verdure, always pleasing, and occasionally beautiful.

In the valley below we found a number of caverns, chiefly artificial, which, as usual, had served at once as habitations, chapels, and sepulchres. Some of these presented a style of rock architecture which appears to be peculiarly Phrygian, and which, when ornamental, is frequently characterised by the presence of lions sculptured in bas relief. I took rough copies of several of these, one of which has been engraved at the head of this chapter. In a more advanced state of the arts, after their connection with the Romans, we find architraves and cornices, with friezes, which partake of a decidedly Roman character, and of which many examples exist in ruins visited by Messrs. Mitford and Layard, to the westward of this, at the villages of Tushanlu and Aiazin, the ancient Jasni.

Near the ruins of a village further on, we examined several other large caves. These were in a valley separated from the former by ridges of rocks. Beyond this we entered upon wooded hills and ravines, which led us ultimately to a cultivated upland, at the entrance to which was an isolated hill, absolutely dotted with grottoes. This was the district of Bayad, or Biyat. Crossing this upland, we passed over an offset of the Emir Tagh, from whence we observed that the highest summits of that range to our left were already clad with snow; we descended upon the great plain of Bulavadin, which is covered with grasses feeding scarcely anything but herds of gazelles and flocks of bustards.

Mr. Rassam suffered severely during the day's journey from malaria, apparently induced by exposure to

rain, and during the latter part of the day he became so bad, that I had to go forward to the town of Bulavadin and procure assistance to support him on his horse into the town, where I got possession of the odah of the post-house.

Bulavadin contains 3000 inhabitants, of which but very few are Christians. The houses are poor mud cottages of only one story. There are five jamis, khans, and a market-place, and a solitary menareh stands on the plain, at some distance from the town.

November 12th. Mr. Rassam was sufficiently recovered to be able to continue the journey, but as his progress was but slow, I had time to beat the marshes, in which we found the plain gradually to merge, for game, and not without plenty of amusement, for ducks, teal, and snipe, besides innumerable waders, and a large quantity of raptorial birds, were to be met with at every step.

Two and a half miles south of Bulavadin we passed a central water-course, nearly stagnant, flowing slowly to a lake, which occupies the lower part of the plain, and which has no outlet; the plain of Bulavadin, at an elevation of 2900 feet above the level of the sea, resembles in this peculiarity of having no outlet to its waters, the plains of Ak Shehr, Ilghun Su, Koniyeh, Nigdeh, Koch Hisar, and Kara Hisar, and lies between the ridges of mountains which divide the waters that flow towards the Black Sea from those which flow towards the Mediterranean, and which, in this case, are the Emir Tagh on the north, and the Sultan Tagh to the south. The lakes of Bulavadin and Ak Shehr, generally reputed to be salt, are, from all we could

learn, fresh, and abound in fish. The Sultan Tagh, although not very lofty, is remarkable for its bold alpine character, and massive rocky outline. Its general elevation appears to be from 1000 to 1500 feet above the level of the plain, and about 4000 above the sea. Its highest point, above Ak Shehr, was at this season of the year just tipped with snow.

Our route was carried across this marsh on a raised causeway, for more than five miles, and about nine miles from Bulavadin we approached the foot of the Sultan Tagh, and passing two large villages, situated at the entrance of ravines in the hills, we arrived at the large and tree-embosomed cassabah of Ishakli, where we passed the night, Mr. Rassam still very ill.

November 13th. We quitted Ishakli, by streets knee-deep with mud, and at the gate of the town found a tomb guarded by a dervish who was begging for paras. We travelled only twelve miles, to spare our invalid, to Ak Shehr (the White City). The road lay always along the foot of the Sultan Tagh, almost every ravine in which was occupied by a village, the gardens of which extended from the acclivities of the hills, to a distance of a quarter to half a mile. Some of these villages had jamis, and most of them were pleasingly and many picturesquely situated.

Ak Shehr is a small town of about 500 houses, 50 of which belong to Armenians, situated in a ravine of dimensions rather larger than usual. As our tatar sought for a Christian house for us, we found greater difficulty than the few previous evenings to obtain quarters, the Armenians avoiding the act of hospitality, even when well paid for it, by every subterfuge in their

power; and when we did, at length, obtain a room with an outer open space for the tatar and servants, I was much amused, to see a group of these prostrated people indulging in all kinds of evil surmises and scurrilous conversation on our account. If a simple act of kindness, such as to bring a cup of water, was asked of a man, he would walk sulkily away; if of a woman, she would turn her back in contempt. A traveller is really excusable sometimes, in being a little rough with such boors.

November 14*th*. We left Ak Shehr by a wide-stretching grassy plain, passing Karyat, a village on a hill, where the same plain yielded a little corn, but extended far beyond, naked, uncultivated, and monotonous, till past Arkal Khan, a large village with a market and some ruins; it becomes more hilly on the approach to Ilghun, remarkable for its two small lakes, and stream running between them, as marked on the maps, but respecting the junction of which I had no opportunity of satisfying myself. At the entrance of the town of Ilghun are some sacred edifices of the Mohammedans; the town itself is poor enough, contains about 400 houses, almost entirely Mohammedan, and has a market, bezestein, and khan.

November 15*th*. We travelled over an uninteresting country three hours and a half, to Khanun Khan (Lady's Khan), a village of about 250 houses, with a large khan, in the walls of which many stones with Greek crosses and inscriptions are dovetailed. Two hours from this, we arrived at Ladik, a village of about 60 houses, built upon a teppeh within a recess of the mountains, and sometimes called Yurukan Ladik (Ladik

of the wandering Turkomans), and also Lazikiyeh Karaman (Karamanian Laodicea). A portion of the burial-ground of this ancient Laodicea Combusta is still designed as the Gawur's Mezar, but there are few remnants of ancient times. A curious stone upon an adjacent height is called Kiz Kayasi (Girl's Stone).

November 16th. An hour from Ladik we passed a Greek village in ruins, entering thence a pass amid low hills, beyond which was the plain of Koniyeh, along which we travelled three hours, always in sight of the city of the Sultans of Rum, before we reached it. I had sent the tatar on ahead to obtain lodgings for us, and rejoiced at arriving at this town, as Mr. Rassam's attacks of fever returned every day, and here I could stop a short time and put him under treatment. We were received in an Armenian house, where we had a cleanly apartment, and, what was still more desirable, retirement.

Koniyeh, as one of the great cities of Asia Minor, not far from Smyrna, and on the great road, has been much visited by European travellers, who have each, from the days of Niebuhr to those of Colonel Leake and Mr. Hamilton, contributed their remarks upon its past and present condition.

After visiting many of the great towns of Asia Minor, Angora, Kastamuni, Kaiseriyeh, &c., Koniyeh certainly appears the most fallen and ruinous of all, and yet it stands among the first in its early renown for size, population, and riches. Strabo particularly alludes to its being well built; and Pliny styles it, *urbs celeberrima Iconium.* In the Acts of the Apostles (xiv. 1,) we find it noticed as frequented by a great multitude of

Jews and Greeks; and in the Ecclesiastical Notices, according to Cellarius, it is placed first upon the list as a metropolis.

Its fortunes were most varied, but it was not till it became the residence of the Turk Sultans of the Seljukiyan family that it attained all its eminence and grandeur. The Crusaders under Godefroy de Bouillon were well received and hospitably entertained here, but the next crusade under Conrad (1146) was more unfortunate, for although they had obtained a previous victory over the Turks, they besieged the city in vain, and were obliged to retire. The rulers of the Lower Empire often mingled in the quarrels of the Seljukiyan Sultans with the other Turk princes, and John Comnenus met with a disaster under the walls of this city. The city was sacked by Timour, but restored to its sultans. The last Sultan, Alau-d-din II., died the prisoner of Michael Paleologus, and on this occasion Osman, bey of Shugut, was declared Sultan of the Turks, but Karamania did not become an actual possession of the Osmanlis till the time of Mohammed II.

With the exception of its walls, the distribution of which is singular enough, it is to the Mohammedan period that it owes the most remarkable of its existing remnants, the most striking of which are its jamis; of these, the Sherif Altun is the largest, that of Sultan Alau-d-din next, and after it the jami of Sultan Selim, of the Osmanli dynasty, whose building exploits would have delighted the heart of a Procopius. The style and decorations of these jamis are often very beautiful, and constitute graceful and finished specimens of Saracenic architecture.

Many of the sepulchral chapels are of great sanctity, and are to the present day objects not only of veneration, but of pilgrimage. In the journal of the sixth campaign of Suleiman (1634), we find the Sultan halting here to visit the tomb of Mevlana Jelalu-d-din Rumi, author of the *Mesnavi*, a much-admired ethical poem in Persian, and head of the Mevlavi order of Dervishes. Many of these chapels are, however, now in ruins.

There are at present within the precincts of Koniyeh the remains of upwards of twenty madresehs (colleges), a number nearly equal to that of Baghdad, the city of the Khalifs themselves. Many of them are still held in high estimation among the Mohammedans, and are now, as formerly, the apologies for worse than monastic indulgence and sloth. Under the name of students in grammar, in law, and in theology, a host of idle and ignorant pretenders receive from a variety of benefices, the advantages of food, and dress, and the comforts of a home for life. The studies themselves have scarcely any regulation, the professed intention and purpose alone being sufficient to sanctify the individual, and render him eligible to the advantages of the foundation.

I rode, while at Koniyeh, to a Greek village, with a monastery, said to be of some antiquity, and situated on Mount Siliya, in the neighbourhood, expecting to obtain some local traditionary lore, but I was disappointed.

Ali Pasha of Koniyeh had at this time in command about 6000 regular troops, at his own disposal, and shortly after the extraordinary onset of the allied fleet on the Syrian coast, the Pass of Taurus being left undefended, these troops marched down into Cilicia, and took possession of Adanah and Tarsus.

Mr. Rassam happily got completely re-established at Koniyeh, and on the 22nd November we started on our way over the wide and level plain on which the city is situated. On the plain, the beautiful bird called the Aleppo plover, with a spur to its wing, first makes its appearance in going eastward. It soon almost entirely supersedes the lapwing, and is met with as far as Persia.

The soil of the plain became soon very saline, and communicated its peculiar character to the vegetation. It afforded us much amusement to observe the sudden impulse with which the camels of passing caravans rushed towards the now frequent tufts of mesembryanthemum and salicornia, reminding them of plains with which they were probably more familiar than with those of Asia Minor. After travelling about five hours we came to a marsh, where the road was covered with small frogs, as if they had been showered down from the sky, but in reality they had only issued from the waters; and various birds of prey were enjoying an abundant repast of them.

In another hour we arrived at Khakun, a village of poor herdsmen, in the marsh, and where we reposed for the night.

November 23rd. We started at an early hour in the midst of a dense mist, which only allowed us to distinguish that we were travelling through the same marshy ground. About seven miles from Khakun we came to Ismil, a large village upon a dry gravelly plain, just without the marsh, and not far from the range of basaltic hills called the Karajah Tagh. There were large flocks of plovers on these plains. We continued

along the foot of the Karajah Tagh about fifteen miles, when we came to a break in these volcanic mountains, which allowed us to see Hasan Tagh, at a distance of from fifteen to twenty miles from us, when it is generally marked from forty to fifty on the maps; and I also recognised some of my old points near the lake of Koch Hisar. On the opposite side of the break is the small town of Kara Bunar (Black Spring), above which the Karajah Tagh rises again, and stretches to the east to the vale of Nigdeh, and is continued northward by low rounded hills, to the foot of Hasan Tagh.

The town of Kara Bunar is inhabited chiefly by Turkomans, who feed their flocks in the Karajah Tagh in summer, but emigrate in winter towards various points of the great plain of Koch Hisar. The houses are almost all of one story, rather from fashion than want of means, for many are well furnished, according to the taste of the country. Sultan Selim built a handsome jami here, but it is falling into ruins; attached to it there is a large well-built khan, once covered with lead, the greater part of which has been long since converted into bullets. There are also some saltpetre works at this place.

The town of Kara Bunar is strikingly situated. Extending southward from Karajah Tagh, there are, first, a rocky cone with naked stones like ruins; then a pair of twin conical summits of volcanic cinders; and further on, a higher cone of similar character, with a truncated summit,—a feature which here belongs to all the hills of volcanic cinders. Beyond these truncated cones a rocky range of low hills sweeps round till it finally terminates in a low conical mound, on which

are the ruins of two towers overhanging the town of Kara Bunar, which is thus in the heart of a little dark, stony, and sterile district of its own.

November 24th. About three miles from Kara Bunar, after ascending the hills of volcanic rock, we found a remarkable and very beautiful crater, with a heap of cinders in its centre that rose above the lips, forming a truncated cone. The cone is about one hundred feet high and the outer walls about sixty in depth. The bottom of the channel left between the outer walls and the central cone is in part filled with water, and in other places afforded a fine crop of grass for numerous horses and cattle that were quietly feeding there.

Our journey continued hence along the foot of the Karajah Tagh till we gained the great plain of Tyanitis, on descending upon which we found a little water. A large partridge of the plains fell a victim to his thirst here, for rushing past us like a bolt he settled close to us by the water, and before he had time to recover himself to a sense of the position in which he was placed, I shot him.

In the midst of this marshy plain, over which we had now to travel, and where a central channel drags its slow current lazily along, is the village of Har Khan, inhabited by herdsmen. Hence we had alternately marsh and dry ground as far as Eregli, which is situated at the foot of the hills, which begin to rise gradually from thence till they terminate in the snow-clad summits of the Bulghar Tagh.

Eregli is but a poor town, containing 800 houses of Mohammedans and 50 of Armenians, and has a small market. Being embosomed in trees, it has as usual

from the distance a pleasant and inviting appearance. We were lodged in an Armenian house, the tenants of which were not inhospitable.

November 25th. Instead of starting hence, as I expected, to the east to enter the mountains, the road lay in a north-easterly direction along the hills bordering the vale of Tyanitis and the giant Hasan Tagh to our left. This fact explained to me at once the reason why, and which was scarcely explicable on the old maps, Cyrus and Alexander should pitch their tents at Kilisa Hisar, the ancient Dana and Tyana. The northerly direction followed by the road from Eregli to gain the Cicilian gates shows, that, except from the position of the Turkish posts, there is no necessity to go to Eregli on the way through Mount Taurus, and further, Eregli is itself inaccessible in a straight line, the same as that we reached it by from Koniyeh, on account of the extensive and almost impassable morasses of Har Khan, and which were only passable for horsemen at the time we went through them.

At a distance of twelve miles from Eregli we came to a small village called Kayan, when our road changed as if bent upon carrying us into the heart of the mountains. A flock of large vultures were gathered here round a carcass. Four miles from this village the waters began to flow eastward, and soon afterwards collect in a small rivulet, which finds its way through Taurus to the bed of the Seihun. This is a peculiarity in the hydrographical features of this part of Taurus, not hitherto pointed out. In the evening we arrived at Kolu Kishla (Blowing Winter Quarters), a cleanly aggregation of Turkoman houses, with a large khan

and a post-station. The peasant boors here behaved rudely, and as their position was on the frontier, would not acknowledge the power of the tatar to obtain quarters. We succeeded at length in getting a room, in which we had scarcely been installed, when a villager, under some pretence or other, came battering the door open, for which he got a good castigation, to the surprise of certain sedate old Turkomen who were sitting smoking on an adjacent roof.

November 26th. This day we followed the valley of the rivulet of Kolu Kishla, which gradually widens and contains one or two villages at the foot of the hills; and gardens, with vineyards of groves and walnut-trees, ornament the rivulet's banks. About three miles and a half downwards this valley terminated in a more extensive one with larger rivulet, beyond which was a rocky range of hills clothed with wood, and there was only one more valley, that of Alaguga, between this and the central and most lofty chain of the Bulghar Tagh.

After following this larger valley for six miles, the road turned over rocky hills to come down again upon the central vale, where it is joined to the right by the rivulet of Alaguga; the two rivulets united flow through a somewhat narrow pass, and their point was at this time the seat of the chief defences erected by the Turks in the Pass of Golek Boghaz. The valley was crossed by a palisade which stretched up the hill, upon the declivities of which, to the left, were two small batteries at different heights, and on the right side similar intrenchments existed, one at the foot of the hill, the other on the declivities; in the rear were other batteries, with guns and mortars. This spot is called

Chiftlik Khan, from a large khan and a bridge close by. It was at this moment defended by a few gunners and Albanians, whose chief business appeared to be to stop the deserters who continually passed through the defile.

As there was no resting-place here, nor onwards for some distance, we were obliged to turn up the valley of Alaguga. About two miles and a half up the valley we came to the kishla, or winter village, which we were disappointed by finding as yet untenanted, and we proceeded farther up the valley, rather in doubt whether we should find the summer quarters of the villagers or not. After proceeding about two miles farther, our tatar's patience being exhausted, he began abusing the seruji for taking us out of the road, and Mr. Rassam became alarmed lest we should have to sleep on the sweet herbage; but all these fears were soon afterwards dispersed, by our finding the villagers perched at a height along the wooded side of the mountain.

There were many picturesque points of view in this wooded and rocky valley, above which the central chain of Bulghar towers along its whole length, almost perpendicularly, to a height of 1000 feet above the spectator; the acclivities are often clad with vineyards, and in the narrow valley below were continuous orchards of walnut-trees and cheries, the latter of which are of three different kinds, and are in great demand at Koniyeh and Adanah.

November 27th. Having regained the junction of the streams at Chiftlik Khan, we turned down the valley of the river. Stopping accidentally to drink at a brook, I found that the waters were warm. About five miles down the valley there was another palisade carried

across a narrow portion of the pass, and a battery was placed upon the heights above. This part of the pass was well wooded, but further on the road was hewn out of hard rocks, that rose precipitously out of the valley, and on turning the corner, we passed the first Turkish outwork, consisting merely of a wall carried in part across the valley, with an adjacent guard-house. There were a few soldiers at both the stations last mentioned.

Immediately beyond the Turkish outwork is a bridge lately built by the Egyptians, and near it a spring called, like that where Osman laid an ambush for the Greeks, Shakar Bunar (Sugar Spring). The term used by both Turks and Arabs to express fresh water is always "sweet," and for salt water "bitter;" hence the Asiatic Sweet Waters on the Bosphorus, and European Sweet Waters at Kef Khana (the Khan of Pleasure). Mr. Renouard says these names are translations of "eaux douces" and "aque dolci," which are no more French or Italian idiomatic expressions, than the English, and all translations of the same Oriental metaphor, sweet for fresh, in opposition to bitter for salt.

The valley opens a little beyond this, and here were the first guard-houses of the Egyptians, and a little beyond this the road permanently leaves the larger tributary of the Seihun, crossing some low hills, and then ascending by the banks of a mountain rivulet that flows from the south-west. At this point Ibrahim Pasha had established a quarantine of ten days, which happily for us had only a few days before been done away with.

Travelling up the new valley we had now entered, we reached its crest after a journey of two hours and

upwards, and there found the only and important defences erected by the Egyptians in this pass, and in a valley behind was a poor village and market, established for the benefit of the soldiers, who were distributed about in huts made of the branches of trees. There was one goodly house for the Pasha, and a few wooden erections, in one of which we were allowed a room lately vacated by an officer.

We were unluckily detained here a day for want of horses. The post having been done away with in the Pasha's territory, as well as the tatar or courier system, a few horses alone were kept along the great lines of communication for carrying dispatches solely, which was done by successive serujis at each stage, while, for the travellers' convenience, the horses were sent for, as occurred in the present case, from surrounding villages, some of which were many hours distant.

I had thus a long opportunity of examining these defences, which are much more important than are generally imagined, and instead of being mere lines of fortification, from which to advance upon a hostile country, their lasting and durable character, and the care, skill, and expense bestowed on their construction, show that they were considered as a permanent line of frontier by those who ordered their erection.

The plain, if it may be so called, which occupies the level summit between the waters of the Seihun and the river of Tarsus, is about an English mile in width, the approach to it being up hill and through a broken and woody country. Throughout its width it is defended by eight different batteries of stone, each surrounded by a fosse, and approached by a drawbridge with double gates,

instead of portcullis, leading into stone magazines of admirable construction, and in every point bomb-proof: some of these are connected, and the intervening fosse is then casemated. To each battery a signal-staff is attached. The system adopted in their construction is that which I have always heard military men mention as now most approved of; that is to say, the rampart does not rise much above the soil, the greater part being sunk, and the ditches here have been dug in solid rock, which would render the cutting approaches a difficult and tedious undertaking. All the batteries command the same front, and are so placed as to intersect one another and not leave a sheltered spot, so that each battery must be silenced or taken in detail before the pass could be said to be gained. On the heights above to the east also, there are additional and extensive lines, beyond which, up to the summit of the mountain, there are towers of observation, and at the western extremity there is a stone fort with barracks.

The elevated plain upon which these defences are situated, is by my observations, 3812 feet above the sea, and the waters that flowed from the low uncovered way, in which the habitations of the soldiers, &c., were placed, were tributaries to the river Tarsus, the ancient Cydnus.

November 20th. We had had sharp frosts both nights that we spent in the Golek Boghaz, and we started amid ice and hoar frost, down to an extremely narrow ravine, which constitutes what is, perhaps, most formidable in the whole length of the pass,—perpendicular cliffs rising to a great height on both sides, and the little interval that exists between, occupied by a moun-

tain torrent, itself and the pathway being also obstructed by huge fallen masses of rock.

Traces of ancient chisel-work attest the labour and trouble spent by former possessors of the soil, in opening a way through this narrow gorge, which one would think a handful of men could convert into another Thermopylæ. An ancient but illegible Greek inscription has fallen, with the rock on which it was cut, with its face downwards into the stream.

Below this pass vegetation becomes very luxuriant, and affords abundant evidence of a change in climate on the Cilician side of Taurus. The forests consist almost exclusively of pines of fine growth, plane-trees grow by the water's edge, while the bottom of the valley is filled with a dense covering of evergreen oak, bay, laurel, quince, wild fig, wild vine, and cedar. At the present moment the pink cyclamen and blue crocuses were in flower, but the myrtle and arbor Judæ did not appear till a little lower down, where the wild olive and jujube became common, and the banks of rivulets were clothed with the bright red oleander.

On the right hand or south side of this pass are two bold rocky summits, towering, bare and precipitous, over the surrounding forest: the most western of these bears the ruins of a castle, with crumbling walls and round towers, said to be Genoese: immediately below this, and prettily embosomed among trees on the mountain side, is the village of Golek, while in the valley beyond and further southward, is the village attached to some mines of argentiferous galena, in which Mehemet Ali took great interest, and had an European superintendent appointed, but as the lead was rejected, and silver only

sought for, the returns which Oriental exaggeration anticipated, were never effected.

At a distance of five miles from this rocky gap we came to a khan, where the road divides itself into two branches; the one follows the course of the valley and its streams, and leads to Tarsus; the other turns over the hill-side, and leads directly to Adanah. We followed the latter route, as I had been to Tarsus on a previous occasion; but I would recommend future travellers to go by Tarsus, as they will then get good quarters for the night, while on the Adanah road they have to go out of the way to find a village, and there is not above two hours' difference in the length of the roads.

Passing a ruinous khan, we turned round the hill's side along a wood and by tombs, till we entered a glen, at the extremity of which was a khan with one or two adjacent houses, delightfully situated amidst abundant waters, surrounded by trees and sheltered by an overhanging cliff.

On descending from this ravine, over low wood-clad hills, towards the plains of Cilicia Campestris, we passed a ruined castle or square beacon, resembling in structure many of the more simple old Irish castles. There was another of a similar character upon a wooded and conical hill a mile to the right.

We came in the evening to the same village where Colonel Chesney and a small party rested on a former occasion, and from whence the Colonel and myself, having gone out the ensuing morning to shoot partridges, lost the remainder of the party, and were obliged to find our way through the country of Badinjan Oghlu to Sis, a journey which occupied us three days. This

Badinjan Oghlu is a Turkoman of great consideration from the extent of his possessions and the number of his followers, in the fertile country of Cilicia. He was then and had been for many years, the civil governor of Adanah, which was, however, always the residence of one or more of Mehemet Ali's generals.

This village, situated at the foot of Taurus, commands a very extensive and truly magnificent prospect. The greater part of Cilicia Campestris, with the towns of Tarsus and Adanah, are stretched at the foot of the hills, and the horizon is only bounded in the same direction by the shores of the Mediterranean, the distant mountains of Syria, and the Amanus to the east.

November 30th. We regained early in the morning the great road to Adanah, and about nine miles from the village came to another square ruinous castle, which, like the other two, evidently belonged to some European possessors of the rich and fertile plain of Adanah and Tarsus. We finally entered upon this plain at a short distance beyond the ruin; and as we are now leaving the Golek Boghaz, I may be allowed to remark, independently of its interesting geographical features previously noticed, that it would also be impossible for any traveller to ride the whole length of this pass, without being much struck with its varied beauties. I can now compare it with four other passes through Taurus, one of which is associated in my mind only with painful recollections. Although not so difficult, and perhaps surpassed in one single point by the Durdun Tagh—where the road carried over the hill suddenly comes upon the Pyramus, rolling along a deep and dark chasm many hundred feet below, sharp pre-

cipices on all sides, and the shining peak of Durdun towering up to the skies above, with no visible road left for the astonished traveller;—rivalled also perhaps in the pass of Ak Tagh by the beautiful valley of Erkenek;—still the Golek Boghaz contains by far the most numerous and varied points of bold and massive mountain scenery of any of the passes. The superior height of the mountains, and the gigantic scale of the scenery of the Alps, does not allow of their being fairly compared with the chain of Taurus, in every respect inferior to them; but the able illustrator of the former (Mr. Brockedon) would also find much that would be highly worthy of his pencil in the Golek Boghaz. The differences of elevation between the two will no doubt be hereafter ascertained, but it will be more difficult to decide upon their peculiar claims to distinction. There are in the Golek pass open spaces like the Vallais, but in the Vallais, on each side, are long continuous mountain ranges, which ultimately (especially to a pedestrian) become monotonous, while in the Golek, mountain succeeds to mountain to the right and left, and vast semicircular precipices support broken glaciers piled one upon another in such profuse confusion and inimitable grandeur, that it is impossible to tear oneself from a scene which, wherever one turns, presents a new wonder. In its more rocky, craggy scenery, the Golek is, as far as I have seen, quite unrivalled; such a succession of fallen masses, rocky projections, and steep cliffs, will not admit of description, nor would they be represented by the Trosachs ten times magnified. I need not mention the vegetation or the habitations of men, as adding to the peculiarities of these scenes; but one thing is deserving of notice: the lammergeyer or

condor of the Alps is rarely seen by the traveller, except at heights at which its size and strength can only be conjectured; but the great bare-necked vulture, which represents in Taurus the condor of the Andes, and the lammergeyer of the Alps, and is a larger bird than the latter, may be sometimes seen in dozens together, waiting till some surly shepherds' dogs have had their fill of a newly-killed animal, and they are never wanting amidst their favourite crags.

The features of the plain of Adanah are very uniform; but here and there is an occasional tree, most generally the locust-tree, a peculiarity in which it differs from almost every other plain in Asia Minor or Syria. The thorny acacia, the caper, and two species of mimosa, are its only shrubs; its flowering plants and grasses are numerous. Its more remarkable tenants are gazelles, foxes, hares, jerboas, ground squirrels, and large and small bustards. It is celebrated for its cultivation of cotton, and now produces much sugar-cane. There are also many date-trees, a further proof of the warmth of its climate.

The learned President of the Royal Geographical Society, in his Anniversary Address for 1838, has very truly remarked of the Cilician, Amanian, and Syrian passes, that they included "a line of march which, from its being so frequently mentioned by historians as that which was preferred to all others in the communication between the eastern and western parts of the continent, must have possessed advantages in a military and commercial point of view which have not yet been sufficiently developed, but resulting as well from the nature of the countries to be traversed as from the facility of

commanding supplies for the support of armies." Without proposing to myself to unfold even the majority of these peculiarities, I may perhaps be allowed to point out what appeared to me as leading features in the case. The first of these is that from the sea-shore to the northern termination of Ali Tagh, except some foot-paths and an occasional bridle-road, there are very few feasible passes through Taurus. The first of these, the maritime pass, to the west of Solah, afterwards Pompeiopolis, has been put into a state of defence by Ibrahim Pasha, but I understand that it is difficult of access There are other foot and summer-roads between this and Eregli, from which latter place is a summer bridle-road across Bulghar Tagh. This is the same as that noticed in the Itinerary to Mecca as the pass of Karghah Kesmez (Impassable by Crows). Another bridle-road to Tarsus takes its departure from where I before noticed is a khan; this was apparently much in use by the ancients. On one part of its course are a number of sepulchral grottoes, on another an inscription, and nearer to Tarsus the remains of an olden road, a sarcophagus and arch, the probable history of which is contained in Rennell's *Western Asia;* but this road continues for a long while in the hills, and is in many parts difficult; I speak here from personal examination. It is not improbable that it was by this road that Cyrus sent the Cilician queen, under guard of Menon, as the most direct to Tarsus. It appears also to have been the road followed by a part of Alexander's army, and is the same as the It-gelmez (Inaccessible to Dogs) of the Mecca Itinerary. Of the passes through Taurus north of Golek Boghaz, I know little; but in our journey through the

Badinjan Oghlu district, Colonel Chesney and myself heard of none till we came to Sis. Indeed, the reasons for the preference given by Greeks, Persians, Romans, Turks and Crusaders, to the same pass, may be inferred from the words of Strabo, where he designates the Cilician gates in Taurus as the most frequented and the most easy transit into Cilicia and Syria.

After the necessities of the case, come "the facilities for affording supplies;" now these apparently always were, and still are, of the first order in Cilicia Campestris. Adanah has every winter a garrison equalling that of Aleppo, and is considered the third town in Syria. Tarsus, its port, is the place of residence of a French consul and English vice-consul. The last agent, Mr. Jones, loaded as many as twelve vessels annually from this port. The advantages were still greater when the populous Anazarba, afterwards Cæsarea, communicated wealth and productiveness to the centre of a now neglected district, and Mopsuestia was in its glory. When Mallos had fallen, a Christian monastery still rose upon its ruins. Sis, in the same plain, covered with castles, (Tum, Seliyah, Meraneh,) is still the seat of an Armenian patriarch. From Issus by Baiæ to the Syrian gates is a garden of oranges and myrtles. Cicero, in his Epistles, particularly notices the resources of Cilicia; and Albertus Aquensis, according to Cellarius, talks of 3000 ships sailing from the port of Tarsus at once. Of all the sites between the pass of Taurus and that of Syria, Iskenderun, or Alexandretta, is the only one which may be said to have attained greater importance in modern times than it possessed at a more remote epoch.

December 1*st.* To return to the narrative of our journey: we crossed over the wide plain of Adanah, diversified by its peculiar vegetation and frequent gazelles, and on our arrival at the town itself, experienced like difficulties in obtaining quarters as occurred on a former visit with Colonel Chesney, when, after wandering several hours about the town, the khawasses sent by the Turkoman mutesellim and Egyptian pasha could neither of them force an entrance into a Christian house, and we had, ultimately, to seek refuge in the apartment of an European hakim, who was kind enough to give us shelter. On the present occasion the same scene was repeated, only we were more obstinate. The khawasses led us to a house, to which, admittance was as usual refused; stones and hammers were then lustily applied to the obdurate bars, the crowd kept collecting, and as they were chiefly Mohammedans, they had a pleasure in assisting us, in what we would willingly have avoided; at length one got over the wall and drew the bolts, and five minutes after we were in the house we had so quieted the tenants, by telling them how ridiculous their fears were, and how wrong was such want of confidence in travelling Europeans, that we were quite at home, and well treated, and every thing forgotten.

We found at Adanah, Ahmed Pasha and Khurshid Pasha, both generals of Mehemet Ali, who received us very kindly; the first speaks French, and was well known to us previously. They expressed deep regrets at Mehemet Ali's Syrian possessions remaining in the same uncertain position. "By threatening us on every side," they said, "the powers oblige us to keep up a

large army in the country, which wastes its resources, and is the cause of that very scarcity and poverty, for producing which, they blame us." They then spoke of the state of Syria under the Egyptians, compared to what it had been under the Turks; they argued, what was more than could from principle be admitted, that by being able to preserve it so long they were entitled to the conquest; and then proceeded to pass encomiums, not without some truth, upon the Egyptian soldiery as compared with the Osmanlis. "The Egyptian," they said, "will sweep the snow from the door of his log-hut, he is not happy unless doing something, he can live upon almost nothing, and be a soldier still, when clothed in rags." It forced a smile upon my lips, to think, how often they were tried in the latter particulars.

On the hot plain of Adanah the soldiers were in their summer dresses, the thermometer marking at midday, 72° Fahr., and in the sun 116°. There are many date-trees in the gardens of Adanah, and I observed some on the plain. The sugar-cane has also been cultivated here since the Egyptians came.

Adanah is a populous city, containing about 10,000 houses, and a population of 50,000 souls, of whom about 10,000 are Christians. Seven regiments were quartered here at this time. The houses are mostly of two stories, and are all built of tiles, as if of the remains of an ancient town, which coincides with its oriental history. Although not so distinguished in the annals of history as Tarsus, it was still, in ancient times, a town of much importance. It is noticed by Ptolemy and Pliny, and Stephanus of Byzantium says, *Ab Adano*,

Cœli et Terræ filio, conditum esse. According to Dio Cassius, its inhabitants used to wage war with the people of Tarsus. The progress of the Crusaders also, it will be remembered, was marked by a quarrel at this place. The Bishop of Adanah had, according to the Ecclesiastical Notices, a seat in the Councils of Nicæa and Chalcedon.

The building of this town was commenced, according to the Turks, by the Khalif Al Rashid, and was terminated by his son Mohammed. It contains a jami, built by Piri Pasha, of the ancient and powerful Turkoman family of Ramazan Oghlu, who otherwise ornamented the town. It also contains a madreseh (college) and other public buildings, and the ruins of a castle, which was being destroyed when we were last here, but remains in pretty nearly the same state. It passed into the hands of the Osmanlis in the time of Bayazid II., A.D. 1486.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Tower of Antioch.

Misis—ancient Mopsuestia. The Jaihan—Pyramus. Amanian Gates. Bayas. Saracenic Structure. Syrian Gates. Alexandretta. City of Antioch. Tower with Inscription. Remains of early Christianity. District of Dana. City of Aleppo. Travel to Birehjik. Town of Urfah—ancient Ur of the Chaldees, and Edessa of Osrhoene.

December 3rd. We left Adanah by the fine bridge which crosses the Seihun at this point. The river is here, by our admeasurements, 325 feet in width, but not very deep. It has its sources, as we found on our former journey, from the hills of Kara Tunuj and Abasilli, in Anti-Taurus, or, as the Itinerary to Mecca has it, from the hills of Kurnuz, near Kaiseriyeh.

As we travelled over the plains beyond, we observed flocks of many thousand small bustards. We did not get further than Misis, which was still more fallen

than at the time of my first visit, four years before. It now contained scarcely thirty families, and most of the houses were in a ruinous condition. At that visit I copied, and gave to Colonel Chesney, an inscription that still remains here, and which I suspect is the same as that quoted by Cellarius, after Gruter.

In a Memoir on the Syrian and Amanian Gates, published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, I compared the distances given by Xenophon and the Itineraries to Mecca and Jerusalem, with those obtained by the surveys of the officers of the Euphrates Expedition, and I collected the various orthographies of this ancient site, but do not give them here, as the reader's interest in Cilician antiquities may not be so lively as my own*.

The ancient Mopsuestia is washed by the Pyramus, (now called Jaihan Su—River of the World,) as noticed by Procopius. The river is quite navigable for small steamers up to the town, and even to Ainzarbah, the Anazarba of the Lower Empire; and I have often thought what a happy scene this most favoured vale of Cilicia would present in the hands of an industrious and intelligent people.

The large delta deposited by the Pyramus was an object of interest to the ancients, and the subject of an oracle, which has been variously rendered.

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* I cannot help remarking what must have been its importance once, when it is related by Abu-l-Feda that 200,000 Moslems were devoted to death or slavery in this city, by Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces. Gibbon calls it Malmistra, Mampsysta, &c., partly on the authority of Wesseling's *Itinerary*.

Time is when posterity shall see great Pyramus reach,
With its soil-engendering waters, Cyprus' sacred beach.

STRABO, lib. xii., p. 536.

Or,

Le Pyrame, à la cote ajoutant d'age en age
De Cypre quelque jour atteindra le rivage.

GOSSELIN's *Strabo*, lib. i., p. 52.

I have visited the mouth of the Pyramus, and shot wild boars while my friend Thomson was turning over turtles on their backs, and we both got a good ague at or near the same spot.

December 4th. Quitting Misis we passed a low range of rocky hills, designated as the Jebel Elnur (Mountain of Light), on the north of which are the ruins of the Shah Meran (Castle of Serpents), and descended into the plain Tchukur Ovak (Plain of the Ditch), which, on a former occasion I hunted, in company with Colonel Chesney and Mr. Stanton, when we disturbed from its deep grassy cover several hunting tigers. This day, however, it was pouring torrents of rain, and I was obliged to forego all shooting, and glad to gain the shelter of the large but ruinous old khan of Kurd Kalak (Wolf's Ear), which now marks the site of the ancient Tardequia. We were detained at this dull and uninteresting place, where scarcely a mouthful of provisions could be obtained, all the next day, by incessant rain.

December 6th. We descended from Tardequia by the remarkable stone arch which is called in the Mecca Itinerary, Timour Kapu (Gate of Tamerlane); by Kinneir, Williams, and others, Demir Kapu (Iron Gate); but which has a more remote antiquity, as its Cyclopean style of architecture sufficiently demonstrates, for it is

built of polygonal masses of basalt, not arranged in courses, and without cement. In the Memoir previously alluded to I have identified these gates with Pylæ Amanica, or Amanian Gates of the Greeks and Romans, both geographers and historians, more especially Xenophon, Strabo, Ptolemy, Polybius, Arrian, and Quintus Curtius, distinguishing them at the same time from the pass over the Amanus, by which Darius got into the rear of Alexander's army, when the Macedonian advanced to Alexandria, and retraced his steps to the plain of Issus, where the battle of that name was fought. It is Polybius who makes the mistake here of saying that Darius came by the Amanian Gates, strictly speaking, which misled that critical geographer, Cellarius; but Arrian distinctly says that Darius passed over the mountain which is near to the Amanian Gates.

On the present journey I cleared up another difficulty, connected with this interesting subject, which is—that part of Alexander's horse, under Philotas, having gone by the sea shore and the Campus Aleius, how could they also pass the Amanian Gates, which were traversed by the army coming from Mopsuestia; plainly, because the two roads join at the very point, and there is no road by the sea-side at the Pass of the Amanian Gates, which is separated from the waters by a rude basaltic knoll. Hence it is quite correct to say, with Strabo, "After Mallum, are Ægæ (now Ayas), a town with a station, then the Amanian Gates with a station."

The station here alluded to by Strabo is the Castabala of some historians, the ruins of which are traceable at a short distance below the gates and on the sea-shore,

and are characterized by an artificial mound, and several dilapidated towers, besides another defence, which shuts up an approach by the hills to the north. All along, beyond this, from Castabala towards Issus, traces of ruins are to be seen, now in part overwhelmed by the sand-floods.

On this occasion I kept along the sea-shore, leaving the ruins of Issus, which were first discovered by Colonel Chesney and his party, of which I was a member, and which have been elsewhere described, away to the left, and passing the Pinarus, where it empties itself into the sea, only by a few trifling outlets escaping from a marsh and lagoon; which has misled travellers to suppose that there was no river here, and to identify the river of Bayas with Pinarus.

Beyond this marsh is an artificial mound, with ruins of a castle, which was probably the castle which Cicero describes himself as having inhabited several days, and which Alexander had near Issus to defend himself against Darius.

We arrived in the evening at the beautiful village of Bayas, the ancient Baiæ, or Baths, where we located ourselves among the Syrians of the Greek Church, who dwell here, and in numerous villages of the Amanus, the Rhosus, and the Casius group of mountains, down as far as Latakiyeh.

The fine Saracenic structure erected here by Sakali Mohammed Pasha, known by the name of Ibrahim-Khan-Zadeh, one of the vizers of Sultan Suleiman II., which comprises a citadel, a jami, a covered bezestein, an elegant khan, and baths, altogether one of the most perfect little things of its kind, was re-opened by Ibrahim

Pasha, who did his best to bring residents and tradesmen to the spot, a highly meritorious as well as politic measure; no doubt under the incubus of Osmanli dominion it has returned to its quondam state of desertion.

Beyond Bayas are the ruins of walls and towers extending from the hills into the sea, and at the head of which is the village of Merkets, and a modern castle of the same name. These constituted the obstacle met with by Cyrus, when leading the Greeks through these passes, and a little beyond are two masses of ruin of white marble, called Jonah's Pillars, by the sailors who frequent the port of Iskenderun, and Sakal Tutan, by the Turks, which are all that remain of the Syrian Gates of the historians of Alexander's campaign. A drawing of these is given in the Memoir before noticed.

December 8th. The luggage being detained for want of horses, we rode on a-head to the house of Mr. Hayes, British Vice Consul at Iskenderun. We found this little place much improved. Mr. Hayes had built himself a commodious English-looking house; the Austrian agent occupied the old consular establishment; and Ibrahim Pasha had built granaries for rice and corn, &c., coming from Egypt. There is no doubt but if this place is continued in the line of the Austrian steam-packets that it will very rapidly rise in importance. As it is, forty vessels, on an average, come every year to this port from Great Britain, and fifteen to twenty from other countries. The day after our arrival, it blew one of those tremendous gales from the mountains, which are so much spoken of as being frequent here; and in the evening we were only able to make our way to Beilan,

where Mr. Hayes has a small summer residence, and to which we were made kindly welcome.

Beilan is a populous small town, situated in a remarkable pass in the Amanus, and which, like Iskenderun, has been so frequently described by travellers, that we shall merely mention on the authority of the Itinerary that its jami was built by Sultan Selim, and the khan by Sultan Suleiman.

December 9th. We descended the pass by Karamata Khan, and observed the ruins of a castle in a ravine of the mountains, on the right hand. Is this the castle noticed by the Mecca Itinerary, as built by Ibn Abi Daoud in the time of the Khalif Vasih? On a former occasion we found, however, another castle to the north of the Beilan pass, in a room in which was a coffin, and around it bows and arrows of considerable antiquity.

A melancholy scene presented itself to us on our arrival at Antioch, in the actual decimation of the troops then quartered there: 700 men were in the hospitals, one of which is Ibrahim Pasha's late palace (which he is said to have sold to Mohammed Ali), and the average mortality was from fifteen to twenty per day. Upon inquiry of the medical officers, they attributed it to the common fever of the country; but upon visiting the hospitals I found the symptoms and course of the disease to present quite a different aspect. The attacks were sudden, accompanied by giddiness and great prostration of strength: this was soon followed by a comatose state, the tongue was paralysed, and the pupil fixed; and if powerful remedies were not early administered, the attacks proved fatal in from four to eight or twelve hours. The attention of the medical officers being

roused to the true nature of the malady, inquiries were immediately instituted, most minutely, into the food and drink of these poor men; nor was it long before the corn was ascertained to be largely adulterated with the seed of the *Lolium temulentum**, well known in the East, and even noticed in Scripture, for its very fatal effects. Ibrahim Pasha sent orders to have the afflicted regiment removed to Aleppo, and for a time to be allowed perfect rest, in order to recover its strength.

The barracks built by this Pasha, from the old walls of Antioch, were still in an incomplete state. The quantity of cultivation around the town had much increased; but the prosperity within had, if anything, diminished. The old governor still held his situation, but complained bitterly of the poverty of the country. Although exceedingly anxious to serve us, we were as usual detained for want of horses.

The researches and examinations made by the officers of the Euphrates Expedition, during a long residence at this ancient city, so celebrated in history, and so dear to every Christian, not only for its many sacred reminiscences, but also as the place where the disciples of Christ were first called by the name of their Master and Lord, will no doubt be contained in Colonel Chesney's detailed account of that expedition, and which comprises among other things, the discovery of a colossal Sphinx.

We also buried here some of our brave companions by the side of those excavated temples in the rock, which are the only remnants of a long persecuted religion. I

* Zizan in Arabic; Zizania of the Greeks.

shall only add to these details here the copy of an inscription, discovered by a resident European upon one of the north towers of the city, and of which I have preserved a memorial in the engraving which accompanies this chapter.

Χρόνῳ κλόνῳ τε προς φθόραν νενευκότα
** * * * Μέδων τετεύχει σὺν τάχει*
*σπουδῇ στρατὸν μόγῳ τε τῶν * * * **
*τὸν πύργον * * * * * * * **

This inscription is in iambic trimeter verse, and a friend, to whom I submitted it, deciphered a portion as follows:—

Sunk to ruin by time and tumult,
* * * * Medon had hastily built
With haste and difficulty the army of the * * * *
The Tower.

While history ascribes the building of Antioch to Seleucus Nicator, tradition assigns its origin to Antiochus, who built it in order to obtain sleep. It is a curious proof of the constant desire shown by Mohammedans to divide with Christians the right to revere their prophets and saints, that the Itinerary to Mecca recommends the faithful to visit the tomb of Hazret Cheinun, or Saint Simeon, a remarkable Christian ascetic.

December 12*th*. We left Antioch by the Gate of St. Paul's, a relic among the many others that Antioch can boast of, full of the deepest interest, and arrived the same evening at Jisr Hadid (Iron Bridge), on the Orontes, the Gephyra (Bridge) of antiquity. There is a strip of land on the banks of the Orontes, which is devoted to the cultivation of the culinary vegetables

peculiar to Turkey, badinjan (egg-plant), bamiyah, and capsicum. Ibrahim Pasha had purchased this for sixty purses, or 300*l.*, and farmed it out. It probably yielded more than 200*l.* a year to its proprietor.

December 13*th.* We travelled across the lower part of the great plain of Umk, which contains the lake of Antioch in its centre, to the village of Harim, pronounced Herem.

Herem is a remarkable place, and evidently the site of a former town. It is situated at the foot of the limestone rocks of Amgoli Tagh, from which an abundant spring issues, and is remarkable for its large mound of ruins, which rises from a still more extensive platform beneath.

The Amgoli Tagh, with its culminating point, called from a tomb upon its summit, Sheikh el Barakat, but better known to the Aleppines as Mount St. Simeon, is remarkable for the great number of villages, monasteries, and other sacred ruins, profusely scattered on its most barren rocks, or in its stony and almost inaccessible valleys. These edifices, belonging to the early ages of Christianity, are remarkable also for the architectural skill with which they are constructed, and, which in massive simplicity and correctness of style, far exceeds any modern buildings in the same country. Colonel Chesney has in his possession drawings illustrative of their peculiar features, rendered still more interesting by their association with the memory of the well-known Saint Simeon Stylites, who, according to tradition, performed his extraordinary penance amidst these rocks.

Scarcely three miles from Herem the first ruins belonging to the period now mentioned are met with.

They are upon the banks of a rivulet, over which was carried a goodly bridge. It was a large village, apparently, with two churches. Two miles from thence are the ruins of a church, and adjacent to it the lid of a sarcophagus, in the Byzantine style. We had remarked at Tium the body of the sarcophagus, formed of laminar rock, *in situ;* here a tomb also was excavated in the solid rock, the lid alone being moveable. This is, however, very different from the real Byzantine tombs at Ainzarbeh, or the splendidly ornamented sarcophagus at Pompeiopolis.

A little beyond these ruins we began to ascend the hills. The tall houses of a former population stood prominent on the top of the hill to the right, while, in our immediate vicinity, were ruins apparently of a different age. These now presented only a circular mound, with successive terraces of small stones, irregularly piled, so as to form a fortification similar to those described as made by the ancient Britons. We found another of these mounds commanding a narrow pass, previous to our arrival on the plain of Dana. They appear to be of great antiquity, and were undoubtedly meant for the defence of the road to Chalcidene and Chalybone, which appears to have been carried along its present line long before the monks hemmed in the hewn pathway, as they seem in some places to have done, with so many begging-boxes.

Curving round this antique mound, after a short ascent, an interesting scene presents itself,—a deep hollow in the rocks, at the bottom of which are the tall ruins of an abbey, while high up, on the opposite acclivities, is a large and inhabited cavern. Hewn

reservoirs for water, of large dimensions, and having stair-cases to the bottom, occur occasionally by the road-side. They certainly indicate a most patient and laborious industry on the part of the tenants of these stony wildernesses. Passing by a ruined house of the same period, the road enters a more level valley, from 200 to 300 yards in width, in which the remains of the ancient road are quite evident all along the centre of the valley; and near half way, there is now, and was formerly, a cross-road, which was indicated by a huge stone with an effaced inscription.

At the end of this vale are more ecclesiastical ruins, adorned with Ionic columns, and here the old road was hewn out of the rock; a little beyond two rows of hermits' cells occupy the sides of the road, and passing these, the traveller enters upon the remarkable plain of Dana, which extends to the foot of Mount Saint Simeon on one side, and on the south, to beyond the visible horizon.

Although this plain, which is very level, is badly supplied with water, still it ever has been, and is still, remarkable for its fertility. Even in the hands of the poor peasantry that have outlived conscriptions, taxations, and levies innumerable, it still presents a most promising aspect. The chief objects of cultivation are maize, cotton, badinjan, and bamiyah. The land not being divided into small compartments, as with us, these plants are arranged in lines of exceeding length, which are skilfully straight and regular; and I have seen as good work done here as at a prize ploughing-match in Picardy. Dana, which is a modern village, upon an antique site, and can show, besides two ruined churches

a very pretty little circular temple, is situated in nearly the middle of the plain; but the ruined villages of the former Christian cultivators of the soil are placed all round the plain, at its edges, and upon rocks. I took bearings of no less than nine villages so circumstanced; and there are still more, as they are frequently hidden in recesses in the hills. Ibrahim Pasha lately sent some of the farmers of this plain to colonise the plain of Umk, and, if possible, redeem cultivable portions of that neglected country.

December 14*th*. Nearly three miles from Dana we quitted the fertile plain, and found ourselves once more upon a stony road, lying over low hills. There were numerous ruins to our right; and we crossed a valley with an old khan and another ruined village, and then ascended to Injir Keuy (Fig-Tree Village), where that fruit-tree is cultivated in little holes in the rocks, or by piling up stones.

Passing along a rocky upland, about two miles from Injir Keuy, we came to more ruins, besides which, others presented themselves to our view on the adjacent hills or their declivities. The road did not alter its character much until, long after seeing the lofty battlements of its now ruinous castle, the great multitude of houses, churches, and menarehs that belong to the famed Aleppo opened all at once upon our view from the brow of an adjacent hill. Here, for the first time, igneous rocks succeed in the valley of the Koweik (Chalus) to the long-continued limestone, and a soil available to the purposes of man, originates from this change in the structure of the earth's crust.

December 15*th*. On our arrival at Aleppo, we were

hospitably received in the commercial house of Mr. Kilbee, but afterwards removed to that of Acting-Consul F. Werry, Esq., who did everything in his power to assist us in recovering our property lost at Nizib. Suleiman Pasha (Selves) had been very polite upon the occasion, and particularly requested the Europeans in the service of his Highness the Pasha to give up to the British consul all papers, instruments, or books of a scientific nature which might have fallen into their possession. Mr. Werry had then recovered a few papers, chiefly duplicate copies of maps and astronomical calculations; but although we traced and heard of the local distribution of some of our instruments, we were unsuccessful, after a long delay, in obtaining them even by the offer of repayment.

Aleppo being the place of residence of many Europeans, has been so frequently the object of description, as not to require us to detain the reader with reiterated details. Of these accounts, after the work expressly on the subject by Dr. Russell, long resident physician in this place, comes the account given of the city by the Baron Rousseau, late French consul here *.

We had several falls of snow during our stay at Aleppo, where we passed the festival of Christmas at the hospitable house of Mr. Werry, jun., but the cold weather did not last, contrary to our wishes, for a frost would have dried up the road and facilitated our progress. We ultimately started on the 5th of January, on a fine warm afternoon, and only reached the district of Hailan, where we had much difficulty in finding a

* In the *Transactions of the Geographical Society of Paris.*

lodging. Most of the houses being occupied by soldiers, we were hurried from one village to another, till we at last settled at Meheritei. This word, as Mr. Rassam remarked, is Syriac, and signifies "the two brothers:" the name of the district, Hailan, means "powerful," in that language. This circumstance will assist, perhaps, in throwing light upon the remarkable ruins at Ak Deyavin and Jinder Aba, which probably belonged to old Syrian families.

January 6th. What was frozen during the night was generally thawed by the sun during the day. We had, however, a cold piercing wind in our faces, which compelled us to dismount and walk on at a quick pace. We left a lake to our left, then crossed the Koweik (Chalus), and in order to connect this country with Azaz, the line of transport of the Euphrates Expedition, we went up the banks of the river, by a small village and tell, from which we enjoyed a good prospect of Azaz and its tell and adjacent hills, and the more distant Killis. We then turned back to Ak Deyavin, whither our baggage had gone direct. In attempting to cross the country our horses got so deep into the mire, that at one time we were almost in despair of being able either to proceed or to return. Ak Deyavin is remarkable for its tell, (and in this country almost every village has its mound—Tell in Arabic, Teppeh in Turkish,) surrounded by ruinous walls built of gigantic stones, which support the declivities of the hill, and show that it is certainly a work of art. Tell Bashir, in the same district, was the site of a castle at the time when the Crusaders carried their arms by Birehjik to Edessa. That some of these mounds are natural there

can be no doubt; as some, also, are in part natural, and in part artificial.

January 7th. We passed by Jinder Aba, where there is a tell of trap boulders surrounded by a wall, and where the Azaz and the Aleppo roads join, to the village of Hala Oghlu, a station well known to Mr. Rassam and myself. The next day, crossing the Sajur, we quartered ourselves at Ekisha, a small village, whence on the ensuing day we reached Bir or Birehjik, after a journey of six hours. For the last two days we had much rain, and our old enemy, ague, had assailed both Mr. Rassam and myself. Birehjik was at this moment occupied by the troops of Mehemet Ali, who were for the most part quartered in the jamis and mesjids, and tranquillity, and with it business, seemed in great part restored to the town. Being both sick, we resolved upon giving ourselves a day's rest at this town, where Mr. Rassam had several acquaintances.

January 11th. While we were at Birehjik the weather cleared up, and was followed by a sharp frost, which materially improved the health of the party, so that we were enabled to continue our journey, when we travelled ten hours to Charmelik, a village with huts like beehives, as are common in the plains of Harran and Seruj, where wood being very scarce, flat roofs are superseded by ingeniously-contrived spherical or dome-like coverings of sun-dried bricks. There are some villages thus constructed in Northern Syria, and they are always the dread of travellers, as they abound more in vermin than any others. There is an ancient tell at Charmelik, besides a modern khan; and this place has been marked in the maps as the site of Anthemusia, the capital of the

district so named. That site, however, is far from being satisfactorily determined.

January 12*th*. This day we reached Urfah, where we found Mohammed, commonly called Majun Beg, commander of the irregular troops attached to the Egyptian army in Syria, stationed with three regiments of infantry, besides a great number of irregular cavalry, who were continually employed in foraging parties in the plains of Mesopotamia; Suverek on the one side, and Ras el Ain on the other, being their points of rendezvous. The time of the year at which the battle of Nizib took place brought the Egyptians in for the rice-harvest of the plain of Seruj (Batnae) and of Harran (Charran), which is by far the most productive in all Syria or Mesopotamia. On the plain of Seruj alone there are upwards of twenty villages, whose inhabitants are employed in this branch of husbandry. The military are, as usual, distributed in the mosques, and one of the prettiest of these, that of Ibrahim el Khalil, was also sacrificed; but the sacred fish* were allowed to remain unmolested. Ibrahim Pasha appeared by the system now generally pursued, to wish gradually to overthrow Mohammedan prejudices at their very foundation. The

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* This is a remarkable instance, but by no means the only one, of the preservation of an old superstition in the East, and its adaptation to new circumstances. The Syrians of old, as is well known, had their sacred fish, and the Mohammedans of the same country, to this day, revere some fortunate members of the finny tribes, who as they say were the favourites of Abraham, and have been in consequence endowed with length of days not usually granted to their race.

large barrack of the Turks alone was in part put into requisition, and the castle shut up, so that I could not copy a Syriac inscription which I heard of in my former journey.

The traveller will find in the valley north of the castle two ponds, both full of sacred fish; that near the mosque is artificial, that near the castle natural; and at its head there are several abundant springs of water, which in cold weather feels quite warm to the hand. Three of these, carefully examined, gave a similar and uniform result of + 21° Centigrade (69½° Fahr.); the atmosphere being at the time + 4° Centigrade (39½° Fahr.)

The biblical history of the Ur of the Chaldees and its various nomenclature, as still preserved in the Urfah of the Arabs, is given in my *Researches in Assyria, &c.*, and I have nothing to add at the present moment, except that Colonel Chesney goes farther than myself, who have been contented, with Heeren, to seek in Northern Mesopotamia for the country in which the Chaldeans dwelt previous to the period of the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire; but, in accordance with the limited territory assigned to the first races of men by the Old Testament, the Colonel seeks in the countries near the head of the four rivers, Euphrates, Tigris, Araxes, and Halys, for the original seat of these people, the name of which is still preserved in that of the Chalybes or Chaldæi of Strabo*.

* This view of the subject is also embraced by several German writers, particularly by Michaelis and Schloezer, and in this country by Pritchard.

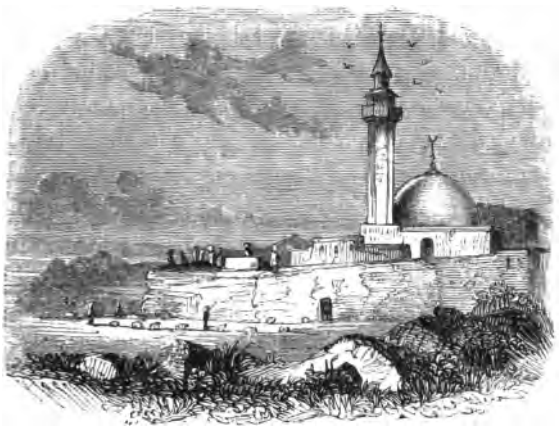
The inroad of the Crusaders at Edessa, or Urfah, was one of the many errors that sprang from the domineering character of the chieftains of those remarkable expeditions. Baldwin, surnamed Burgensis, who succeeded to the first count of Edessa, having besieged the city of Carrhæ (Harran), was suddenly set upon by an army sent by Nur-ed-din, ata-bey of Mosul, who made the count prisoner, and took him, with the bishop Benedict and Jocelin, his kinsman, to the citadel of Mosul, where they were kept prisoners five years.

The rivulet which flows past Urfah is called Kara Chaye, but I fear my authorities were ignorant persons; Procopius calls it Scirto, and D'Anville, Daisan. The latter has got, from some unknown source, most exaggerated accounts of its occasional floods; perhaps they are derived from some notice of a spring about a mile west of the town, which is said sometimes to overflow with a roaring noise, in which the good priests of Urfah say the miraculous handkerchief, having the impression of our Saviour's face, was lost.

Majun Beg was extremely civil; wished us, while at Urfah, to live at his expense; and, representing in a strong light the dangers of the road that lay before us, was anxious for our taking a guard of irregular horse; but at length consented to our starting with one horseman and a chaush, or officer of irregulars, by name Haji Ali, a Bedwin from Tunis, of great activity of body, and well known by his fearlessness. Besides this, we had our tatar, a useless old man, a servant, and two serujis. This made up a goodly party, but it did not take away all anxiety about the results of our journey across the Mediterranean Mesopotamia of Cellarius, where the

roving tribes, always uncertain in their allegiance, did not now know under whose dominion they lived, while they were daily exasperated to acts of robbery by the wholesale plunder that was committed upon them by those who called themselves their rulers.

CHAPTER XXXII.



Ancient Menareh on the Plain.

Journey across Northern Mesopotamia. Mountains of North Mesopotamia. Ruins of a Chaldean Town—Sina or Sinna. Ancient Menareh on the Plain. Town of Mardin. Der-i-Zafaran (Yellow Monastery). Ruins of Dara. Nisibis. The Mygdonius. Trajan's Fleet. Cross the Desert of Sinjar. Arrival at Mosul.

January 15*th.* We were only enabled, as at Aleppo, to set off in the evening; but in this country "the start" is everything; and, passing Gurmesh, a small village of Christians, we crossed a large rivulet, and travelled thence for three hours to Kara Teppeh, a hill with a village of from thirteen to fourteen houses and a few tents. A little beyond it is the Jalab, here thirty feet wide by one and a-half to two deep. According to Procopius, as quoted by D'Anville, there was a castle called Kalaba, where the Jalab leaves the foot of the hills; and this would correspond with the position of the

mound now called Kara Teppeh in a district where the Turkish language is seldom spoken.

January 16*th.* Our road lay over an undulating country, and we travelled in a circuitous manner, always following the valleys, which had an uncommonly deserted appearance. However, after two hours' journey, we came up to some tents, where we sought to take a new guide, and leave the one we had brought from Kara Teppeh to return, but our Bedwins had much to do, and plenty of blows were distributed before the stubborn Kurds could be got move. A little beyond this place, we arrived at a more open valley, towards the head of which was a large encampment: we, however, turned up a valley to the right. It was snowing so densely and blowing so hard, that we could scarcely see or hear one another, and we had all been long anxious for a halting-place, when coming up a hill more bleak and exposed than before, our guide made a halt: he no longer knew his way, and the village he was leading us to was gone. Nothing that I could say could ward off the blows he got from the Bedwins: there was, however, only one course to pursue, which was to return two wearisome hours to the encampment: our jaded baggage-horses tumbled at every other step; but Haji Ali, with his yellow boots, was off and on his horse like a mouse, and our Greek servant also kept up his courage and gave quick assistance. The evening found us endeavouring to make a fire of a little damp grass; but it was of no avail, and sleep we must in our well-drenched clothes.

January 17*th.* There was another disturbance this morning about guides. Haji Ali was dealing about blows with a heavy stick, his turban having fallen and

left his head bare, while his friend was using the butt-end of his gun. Several Kurd horsemen, with an expression of countenance anything but friendly, had ridden into the tent, and the tatar was eyeing them askance, pretending to be engaged in saddling his horse. As I had previously balanced means, and knew that we could beat the whole encampment by the superiority of our arms and men, I watched the result without interfering. The Pasha's authority was ultimately recognised, and a proper mounted guide was given to us: he did not, however, prove of much use. We retraced our steps to the place whence we set out yesterday evening, and then the snow was so deep over the adjoining upland, that no trace of a path was to be found: the guide and Haji Ali were active in ascending hills wherever a glance could be obtained of a new country. At length, after a tedious ride, we reached an abandoned village, from whence we obtained a view of the fertile district of Mizar, where a sort of cultivated oasis occurs, dispersed about which are many villages of tents; in one of which, called Chibukchi, we found another fire made of grass and space enough for a nap.

January 18th. We travelled over a cultivated plain, covered, however, with large stones, two miles to Zibilli village and tell. Here we changed our guide, and then pursued our journey generally in a direction from south-east to east, passing several villages and tells, among which was one called Tell Gauran (Fire Worshipper's Hill), with a ruin on its summit, said to be that of a Christian church, till we came to Tell Jafer, where it was settled that we should pass the night. Some parts of the road had been very stony and others very muddy;

it was like the country near Jezireh, and is very bad in winter. It is worthy of mention, that although snow from six inches to one foot deep covered the limestone district, the moment we came upon the basalt none was to be seen; the outline of the country is also quite altered, and an infinite variety of low rounded hills with grassy valleys intervening, is succeeded by long sweeps of cultivated or barren soil, occasional spots being covered for miles with nothing but loose stones. This district is traversed by many rivulets, chiefly in beds having rocky sides; villages inhabited by Millis Kurds (not Turkomans, as stated in some maps) with their accompanying tells, are to be seen in every direction. To the south-east, the plain is bounded by the hills of Sinjar; to the south-west, by those of Abd al Aziz, and between the two is the very remarkable hill called Tell Kaukab (Star Hill).

To the north east, Karajah Tagh, and beyond it the rocky and snow-clad summit of Masius, were now distinctly visible. Karajah Tagh is a rocky range of conical summits of trap-rocks, running nearly north and south between the districts of Suverek and Diyarbekr. Mount Masius commences at the flourishing and wooded village of Derrik, from which it now takes the name, in the early part of the range, of Jabel Derrik, but is called afterwards Jebel Mardin, and consists of a range of limestone hills, which terminates rather abruptly in the plain. On one of the boldest of these rocks Mardin is singularly perched, while beyond it, the precipices dwindle away, and are occupied by the monasteries attached to Der-i-Zaferan (Yellow Monastery). The prolongation of these hills to the north-east,

is the celebrated Jebel Tur, which still retains a large Syrian population.

January 10*th*. We went a little out of our road, although the anxiety of our guard was increasing as we approached within sight of the castle of Mardin, to visit the ruins of a city called by the natives Kohrasar. I found the ruins to be more extensive and remarkable than I had expected, and regretted that Mr. Rassam, the tatar, and baggage, continuing to go on ahead, did not allow of any delay for measurement and minute examination. The walls of the city were built of good square hewn stones (basalt), like those of Diyarbekr, and were defended by square and round towers. The towers on the north side preserve about half their original height, but on the other sides are more ruinous: the space within the walls is nearly square, and the extent of any one of the sides from 600 to 700 yards; the whole of this space is filled up with ruins of houses, except towards the east, where there is a large mound, apparently once a building of some extent. The houses were constructed of hewn stone with semicircular arches and intervening masonry: many of the arches are still standing. I found no inscriptions nor Babylonian bricks, but by no means explored all the ruins, which cover about a mile of ground in and outside of the walls. By far the most remarkable remnant connected with this ancient place is the burial-ground without the walls, which with respect to its construction and arrangement, is the most perfect necropolis that I have ever seen. These tombs were in part underground, laid out in regular rows, of which there were about twenty, each containing nearly one hundred tombs. Each was a

separate and distinct mausoleum, built of massive hewn stones, forming a chamber with three arcades, one fronting the entrance and one on each side; each of these arcades was divided into two parts, by a huge single slab of basalt, so as to contain one coffin above and one below, or six in the same sepulchre. The door itself consisted of another heavy mass of basalt, swung upon hinges cut out of the rock, and received into circular holes in the building. Although many of them were quite perfect, it required a man's strength to move them; and as a portal was thus left to the houses of the dead, it appears as if, as in Egypt, the inhabitants had been in the practice of visiting them; and in the interior there was space for two or three persons to walk about in. Amidst these are the more lofty ruins apparently of churches, not unlike, as are also the houses, those at Garsaura: one of these was tolerably perfect; of another, the walls only rose like pillars from the plain.

This ancient site appears to correspond to the Sinna of Ptolemy and the Sina or Sinna of Assemanni, which was a Chaldean metropolis situated between Edessa and Amida. The crosses sculptured upon the portals of the tombs, and the architecture of the churches, attested that it had been a Christian city.

We had a long journey this day, passing several tells that had lost their accompanying villages, from the ruins of which we now only disturbed some grunting boars, then lost our way in a wide grassy plain, and soon afterwards our guide, who turned off, or made off, to the left, while Haji Ali was reconnoitring to the right; but we ultimately reached some Kurd tents, where, notwithstanding their protestations against receiving us, we

persisted in quartering ourselves for the night. On the whole, the conduct of these Kurds must be looked upon as very creditable to them, more especially when it is considered that any robbery committed at the present moment would have been certain of perfect immunity.

January 20th. Our active Bedwins were obliged to part from us this morning, moving off over the plains to Ras el Ain, while we proceeded to cross the Jahjakjah, the main tributary to the Khabur River, where there were the remains of a bridge. We soon afterwards regained the caravan road, and after a ride of five hours arrived at Mesko, a large village, where we found the first outposts of the Sultan's irregular troops; they looked at us with wonder, but the presence of our tatar, for a long time useless, now saved us from troublesome inquiries and examinations.

Beyond Mesko we visited the old Mohammedan town called Koch Hisar, now reduced to a mere village, but which boasts of having a jami, with the oldest menareh except one at Damascus, in the land of Mohammedanism, and which was built by Valid, son of Abdul-Melik. If so, it has been repaired in more recent times with a wooden summit and gallery; but it is still, as it stands isolated on the treeless expanse of plain, with an Arab shepherd and his flock in the foreground and the blue hills of Sinjar in the distance, eminently a picturesque object.

We travelled this day till after dark, when we got a room in the small village of Gurmalah, in which almost every house was full of irregular troops.

January 21st. On our road to Mardin we passed a pretty vale with rivulet and olive-groves, beyond which

were two villages. I had intended not to go up the hill, but to await horses at the Christian village of Göl (the Lake), on the plain below. But as delay was likely to arise from adopting this plan, we trudged up that tedious ascent, and gained the city in an hour's time from our commencing the task.

January 22nd. When Turkish affairs assumed so unfavourable an aspect as they did upon the late success of the Egyptians, Mardin was one of the first towns to revolt in favour of the old state of things; everything European was discarded,—the new military dress was looked upon as the cause of all misfortunes, and the Turks, to regain their wonted superiority, thought they had nothing to do but to re-assume their old clothes.

Not seven years ago Mardin underwent, from its perpetually mutinous spirit, all the rigours of a capture by the troops of Reshid Pasha, at which time a mine was so skilfully exploded as to destroy a number of the Sultan's troops and a jami or large mosque, without in any way affecting the position of the mutineers, who had fled into the castle. Since that time it has been attached to the Pashalik of Diyarbekr; and when the Sultan's government hastened, in the midst of its difficulties, to secure its authority by the appointment of a pasha to Diyarbekr, the people of Mardin saw no alternative but that of surrendering or going over to the Pasha of Mosul. The bigoted adherence of the latter to many of the exclusive Mohammedan superstitions had gained for him many adherents in the city of Mardin, and he was accordingly allowed to send a governor there and a small body of troops, for which he no doubt received the thanks of the supreme government. The

population of Mardin is of a very mixed character, composed in great part of Christians, rude and untutored, and each sĕct bearing a strong animosity against the other; the chief of these are the Syrians and Syrian Roman Catholics. Almost all the inhabitants of Mardin, at two different visits to this town, impressed me with the same idea of their rude and quarrelsome character, probably derived in part from the peculiar situation of the town*.

The prospect of Mardin, which may truly be called the Quito of Mesopotamia, is one of the most striking that can well be conceived, not only from the almost infinite extent of cultivated land that lies stretched out at its feet as on a map, from the numerous villages and hillocks with which they are studded and which dwindle away in the distance to mere mole-hills, but also from the vast and almost boundless expanse of nearly level ground unbroken by trees or rivers, for the most part sinking gradually from sight to the utmost verge of the horizon, where everything is indistinct, and which is here, from the great height at which the spectator is placed at a remote distance. Close to Mardin is the Yellow Monastery, (Der-i-Zafaran,) the seat of a Syrian bishop, and which was once the see of the celebrated Abu-l-Faraj, the Abulfaragius of some writers. This

* When Dr. Grant and the Rev. Mr. Homes, of the American Mission, were at Mardin, in September, 1839, and shortly after the battle of Nizib, the Mohammedan population rose in insurrection, and in the open day, in the court of the public palace, killed their late governor and several more of the chief men of the place; and then went with their bloody weapons to the house of the missionaries, who were only saved by the intervention of a kind Providence.

dignitary commenced at this monastery, an historical work, devoted to preserving a manuscript record of the chief historical events, political and ecclesiastical, of his time, and of times antecedent, and he bequeathed it to the monastery, with the understanding, that each successive bishop should continue it during his own time. It is easy to imagine, that some of these chapters of contemporaneous history would present some curious and peculiarly local histories, for every man fancies the world he lives in, the world of every one; but still a translation of such a book would not be without both value and amusement. It was from this book that I copied, with Mr. Rassam's assistance, on a former occcasion, the list of ancient kings of Nineveh, which I have given in my *Assyrian Researches.*

January 23rd. As usual on the first day we only just made a start, for when the horses were brought, every one was found to want shoeing. We were joined here by a Chaldean bishop and priest of the Church of Rome, who were going to Mosul: they had been to Constantinople in order to obtain a firman for building a church, but had only succeeded in getting authority to divide one or more of the existing Syrian churches into two parts by a central wall, which was in one case carried into execution after our arrival at Mosul, where, on the Sunday mornings, the two sects meeting at the same time, in the performances of divine service, mingled their noisy chants together.

We passed the night at Harin, a large village of agricultural Kurds on the plain. I was glad to observe, on this occasion, that the bishop was respected by the peasants, although belonging to a different faith.

January 24th. About three and a half miles from Harin we passed Kasr Borj, a ruined castle, in which, according to a tradition related to us by the Chaldean bishop, a son of Darius once lived; this tradition is founded upon its being of Persian origin, but of much more recent times than the dynasty of Darius, and belonging to the same period as the adjacent fortified town of Dara, which I had visited on a former occasion, and after Al Hadhr, the most remarkable place in this part of the world, whether from the extent of its ruins, its vast subterranean dwellings, and the richly ornamented sculptures of its excavated tombs.

According to Procopius, Dara was built by Anastasius, to resist the encroachment of the Persians, but according to Persian historians*, Arsaces Tiridates, the second of that name, after the expulsion of Andragoras, the Syrian lieutenant of Seleucus Callinicus, built the city Kara Dara on the mountain Zapaortenon. Justin also asserts the Persian origin of these ruins, which is further attested by the general character of the sculptures, but the pages of history have recorded, that it often changed hands, and was governed by various princes, and Byzantine sarcophagi are as frequent as Persian sepulchral grottoes. Gibbon has described the city, from older historians, in great detail, but there are no positive traces of the often mentioned double walls; a river still flows through the town.

In front of Dara we passed by a large granary, called Anbar Dara, and from hence we bore away, by rather a

* Lewis's *History of the Parthians*, p. 13.

devious route, to a ruined castle on the plain, called Kasr Sergan. Of these ruins, which are in the form of a parallelogram, nothing remained but the foundations and part of two octagonal towers. The same evening we arrived at Nisibin, the site of the far-famed Nisibis, of which all that remains now are two upright columns, figured by Buckingham in his travels in these countries, and several beautifully sculptured friezes in the interior of a modern but now neglected and ruinous Syrian church, and which was built with the hewn stones of more ancient edifices.

After the campaign of Sinjar in 1838, Hafiz Pasha attempted to renovate this ancient city, with what success I have before mentioned. Some new foundations had lately come to light, but I could not learn whether any antiquities had been met with in these excavations.

January 25th. We had a fine frosty day, but the bishop was suffering from an ague caught upon his journey. On leaving Nisibin we crossed the Mygdonius, a tributary to the Khabur, called by the natives, like the large tributary to the west, Jah-jakjah. It flows from the Jebel Tur, which form the continuation of the Mardin hills to the east till they terminate in the Jebel Baarem, over the Tigris near Jezireh. Colonel Chesney thinks that it was from these hills (which are often wooded), that Trajan obtained the materials and constructed the boats with which he descended the Mygdonius and Chaboras to the Euphrates*.

* According to Dion Cassius, edited by Nicée, the boats were constructed in the forest of Nisibis, and taken on chariots to the Tigris. Then the Roman emperor built a bridge of boats near the Carydne

We only travelled four hours this day, partly on account of the bishop's illness, but I believe chiefly in order to collect our forces, and prepare for the passage of the plain of Sinjar, of which the people of Mosul have a great dread, on account of the frequent robberies that take place there. The bishop had united with Mr. Rassam in urging the precaution of our taking four horsemen with us as a guard from Nisibin, and our party now altogether amounted to sixteen persons, quite a small caravan. Notwithstanding this the people of the village we stopped at, Tell Jaihan (Hill of the World), behaved rudely and robber-like, forcing themselves into our rooms with sneers and laughter, and seizing upon anything that might be about. In the afternoon a violent altercation took place about the horses' barley, which, as we had now four horsemen, I left to be arranged by themselves.

January 26th. We passed the mound and village of Aznowar, with a rivulet and a few trees; and one mile beyond it is a more rapid stream, the Hassawi of Mr. Forbes, which bounds the basaltic district. The

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Mount (Mount Cardi of Xiphilinus' edition), and secured that part of Assyria, called Adiabene under Ninus, which is a mis-statement; the name Adiabene being unknown till the Roman time. He then took Arbene (Arbela), where Alexander formerly defeated Darius; and from thence he pushed on to Babylon. Here occurs the difficulty which Colonel Chesney obviates by making him take his boats down Euphrates. They might, however, have been taken from the Tigris to the Euphrates by one of the canals, as has been the case with a British steamer only two years ago. In the *Memoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxi., p. 59, Trajan is made to return to Antioch from Nisibin.

country now changes from a cultivated to a grassy plain, broken by occasional ravines and rivulets. After a ride of seven hours we came to Chil-agha, two villages close to each other, where we were received by a lady who had the management of the post, and was immediately converted by the present of a kerchief into a warm friend. We accordingly were to fare well at Chil-agha, and a lamb was killed for our supper; but our party had become so numerous, that by some strange accident it was consumed while dressing.

January 27th. We now entered upon a still more desolate tract than that which we crossed the day before. Eight miles from Chil-Agha was a tell with four tents, the inhabitants of which had been lately robbed of their flocks by some of the Sinjar people. They lived under the jurisdiction of Jezireh, and the governor of that place had despatched 300 to 400 horsemen, whom we had seen the day before on their way to endeavour to recover some of the lost sheep. The tell of Rumalah, as it is called, which we were now passing, is the commencement of that part of the high road which has been the scene of so many of the foul deeds committed by the followers of Khalifah* on the one hand, and the tribes of Sinjar on the other; but they were always assisted by the villagers. The country is a nearly level and uninterrupted greensward, without water, and with only here and there a tell or mound to break its uniformity. By a proper distribution of the waters descending from Masius and the Baarem Hills, it might,

* Khalifah was the name of a celebrated freebooter who killed Mr. Taylor, and some other Englishmen, on this road.

however, be in great part brought into cultivation, and made to maintain an industrious population instead of the worthless vagabonds to whom it is now abandoned.

Every one of our party now began to enliven the tedium of the road by tales of robberies and murders committed at various points. The tatar had his tale, the serujis theirs, and most of the travellers added to the general stock. I could not, however, help feeling a melancholy interest myself, when a mound called Char Pera was pointed out to me as the spot where Mr. Taylor and his unfortunate companions were murdered some years ago. Such occurrences are so many indelible stains upon the government under which they occur; for the tribes of Sinjar are not like the Bedwins of the Desert, and might, with a little trouble and expense, for which the government would ultimately be repaid, be kept in order.

The mound of Char Pera, and another of larger dimensions, which we passed on this day's journey, were mere accumulations of ruins, abounding more particularly in pottery, and apparently of Saracenic or Persian origin. The second mound of ruins here noticed is called Athlan Teppeh-si (Tamarisk Hill), and appears to have been a place of much magnificence. We slept this night by the side of a brook called Aiwanet, our party separating itself into several different groups, busily but vainly endeavouring to blow some wet rushes into a fire.

January 28*th*. We were now approaching the Tigris, towards which what little water there was now flowed. Two low ranges of hills diversified the plain between us and the river; the Jebel Gharah to the north and the Jebel Mush to the south. At the foot of

this latter range was a tell of the same name; and on this mound there is a castle erected by Ahmed Pasha, the predecessor of Mohammed Pasha, as governor of Mosul. It was built with a view to keep in subjection the tribe of Arabs who dwell on the banks of Tigris and in the vales west of Jebel Mush, not far from the site of Eski Mosul. This tribe, which has for many centuries been here established, is called the Mosuli Ashirat, or the Mosul tribe.

Further onwards we came to another fort, also built by Ahmed Pasha, and called Faukani Maraka, to distinguish it from a tell at a lower level near the meeting of two brooks, called Maraka Sufli. In the evening we reached Abu Marri or Abu Maryam, described by Mr. Forbes as a ruined village, near which there is an abundant spring of brackish water, forming a small brook, which is, however, soon lost in reedy hollows. This abundant spring is a subterranean rivulet, at this time sixteen feet wide and two deep, just issuing again from the earth. Phenomena of this kind are exceedingly common in the gypsum district, near Mosul, where waters, after sweeping along for some distance beneath the superincumbent light and porous rock, re-appear in deep ravines of the same rock, perhaps again to be lost in subterranean passages, till these fall in and disclose a brook or open a valley. On this road, about two miles from Abu Marri, there is a remarkable subsidence of this kind; and there is another near Mosul, where people go to shoot pigeons. This is easily understood; but there is another feature in the gypseous districts not so easy of explanation, although very frequent; it is the elevation at the surface of the earth of beds of gypsum

like so many semi-circular domes. These are sometimes small, at others larger, but seldom above a few feet in diameter, and always hollow within. When we consider that there are sulphur mines and many hot-springs impregnated with sulphureted hydrogen (hydro-sulphuric acid) near Mosul, all in the same rock, they appear not unlikely to be the effect of the evolution of gaseous matters.

Abu Marri was now inhabited, but only by occupiers of tents; its kasr, or barrack, was full of soldiers; and the residence, not of a mutesellim, but of a zabit, an inferior officer.

January 29th. We passed the ruins of a village called Dolab (Water Wheel), and beyond those of Khatun Arabah-si (Lady's Waggon). There were now on the plain only a few syngenesious plants, an ononis or rest-harrow, and camel's thorn, or little acacia of the plains, differing from the large thorny species that covers the hills at Ainzarbeh, and appears first on the warm exposures of Cilicia, and again further from the acacia with scented flowers which I have only seen in the canal of Basrah. The same afternoon, we reached the city of Mosul, which may be considered in the present day as the capital of Mesopotamia, and which was to have been long before, what it became now, the head-quarters from whence our future explorations were to emanate.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Head of the Time of the Ata-Beys.

City of Mosul. Modern Government. Famine and Conflagrations. Romish Chaldeans. Antiquities. River Tigris. Calendar of Nature. Hurricanes. Mons Nicator and Gaugamela. Battle of Arbela. Ruins of Nineveh. Magnitude of the City. Circuit of the Walls. Commentary on the Book of Jonah. Ancient City confined within the Walls. Temples and Palaces. Fulfilment of Prophecies. Identity of Nimrud, Larissa and Resen. Castle of Xenophon. Mes-Pylæ, now Mosul. The Syrian Nineveh.

THE period when a town, and then a city, rose upon the western banks of the river Tigris, opposite to the ancient Nineveh, is lost in the obscurity of by-gone times. It is a remarkable fact that Xenophon, who does not notice Nineveh, describes the castle, whose ruins are now known as Yarumjah; and also at the site of Nineveh, what he designates as Mes-Pylæ, the Middle Gate or Pass, which this point of the river has ever been. This word, corrupted to Mesulæ, as Rennell has previously

remarked, not improbably became the Musul or Mosul of the Arabs.

The epoch at which the inhabitants of what is now called Eski Mosul, evidently not its real name, left that city to repair to Mes-Pylæ is also involved in obscurity. The city is scarcely noticed in history during the time of the Khalifate, but on the rise of the Turkish power, it became the seat of a race of independent princes, who under the name of ata-beys attained a considerable degree of power. Most of the oldest Saracenic structures in Mosul belong to this period, and among these I found, during our residence at this city, a head of a female, which was universally admitted to belong to that time, and which, as representative of costume of a time little known in history, I have thought worthy of being engraved. It was one of these ata-beys, called Nur-ed-din, who warred so long and so successfully against the Christian Counts of Edessa.

Mosul became a part of the Osmanli empire in the reign of Selim I., and about the year of the Heg. 920 (A.D. 1516). At that time a tribe of Kurds called Kara Emid, were ruled by a Persian Kurd called Kara Khan (Black Khan), whose residence was at Diyarbekr. The citizens having got rid of him by stratagem, received Mohammed Bey, sent by Selim as governor. This delegate of the Sultans, after taking Mardin, besieged Mosul, and carrying it by assault, put the town and its unfortunate inhabitants to fire and sword.

In the year 1554, Suleiman the Great, being at Baghdad, made a treaty of peace with the king of Persia, by which that city, Mosul and Van, were made the boundary cities of the Osmanli empire.

In modern times Mosul has been long ruled by a race of pashas, who were originally descended from Christian ancestors. The hereditary right of this succession became ultimately so often the cause of quarrels and insurrections, that the late Sultan resolved upon appointing a Ferik Pasha of his own, putting down the hostile parties and establishing the supremacy of the law. The present pasha, Mohammed Inja Baïraktar, was appointed on this difficult service. His character is one of extreme severity, and after many executions, large confiscations of property and disarming the citizens, he succeeded in his mission.

The pasha has introduced the Nizam, of whom he had raised and equipped about 3000, besides having a small force of irregular horsemen, and a little park of artillery, and with this force he tried his first military campaign the summer we arrived, and succeeded in the reduction of the fortress of Amadiyeh. At Mosul he has erected handsome new barracks, and also a foundry for cannon. But while busy in improving the offensive and defensive capabilities of this place, surrounded as it is on all sides by lawless tribes, the Kurds of Rawanduz and Amadiyeh to the east, the Bahdinan Kurds and Mosul Ashirat of Arabs to the north, the Izedis of Sinjar to the west, and the Shammar Bedwins to the south, he has been draining the resources of the town and province to the utmost, so much so, that many would have left to seek a home where industry and the necessaries of life were less insupportably taxed, but for a precaution taken by the pasha, to allow of no one to pass the gates of the town without permission.

Without these prominent evils, and with a tranquil

state of the surrounding country, Mosul presents mercantile advantages of no common order. It is immediately connected with the great gall districts, and the expenses of the customs at Aleppo may be avoided by sending the galls direct to the port of Iskenderun, while there are several roads open to Persia, across the mountains, a transit of from five to seven days, and by which, considering the short distance and good roads from Mosul to Iskenderun, British manufactures might be distributed into the heart of Persia, in a time and at an expense, which the line of Trebizond, Erzrum, and Tabriz, that of Bushire and Baghdad, or the Russian line of Astrakhan, Bakhu, and Mazenderan, can never rival.

Mosul is frequently devastated by plague; the period at which the natives place the re-occurrence of that calamity is every thirty-one years. The city has also suffered occasionally from famine, generally caused by fire spreading in dry weather over the fields. Several catastrophes of this kind occurred during our residence here. The fire spread over pastures, common grass lands and corn lands, many miles in extent, and burning night and day often for a week, and sometimes embracing the whole horizon. In times of dearth, the natives mix steatitic earth with the flour, and are even said, as Humboldt relates of the Olomak tribes on the Orinooko, to allay hunger by eating it in a pure state. There is also a sweetmeat much sought after throughout the East, which contains a quantity of steatitic earth. I examined it especially at Angora; it was a silicate of magnesia and alumina, but without chrome or iron.

The population of Mosul has been greatly overrated,

but it is upon the increase, and to ensure this, the pasha allows no male to leave it permanently, and no female to go out of the gates without a special permission. Kinnier estimated the population at 36,000, Buckingham and De Hammer at 50,000, Olivier at 65,000, and General Gardanne at 120,000; but from the best information I was able to obtain, the city really contains only 18,000 to 19,000 souls, of whom 2000 are Roman Catholic Chaldeans, 1000 Syrians or Jacobites, 1000 Roman Catholic Syrians, 1000 Jews, and 13,000 to 14,000 Izedis and mixed Mohammedan population, consisting of Arabs, Kurds, and Osmanlis. Any attempt at a closer approximation than round numbers would only be ridiculous.

From a prolonged observation of the forms and ceremonies, as well as of the discipline, of the Roman Catholic Chaldeans, and of the feelings both of the clergy and the laity, it appears that the conversion effected by the papal missionaries in this portion of the former adherents to one of the Churches, the least contaminated by superstitious and unscriptural doctrines, of the East, has never been so deep as to modify the character and practices of the people to any great extent, and has always left their standard unimpaired; there has been no change in articles of faith, no renunciation of the Nestorian heresy, no introduction of a new creed, and, indeed, no tangible and formal act of reception of the doctrines and usages of the Romish Church. This is also the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Southgate, who has lately published the narrative of his journey of inquiry into the present condition of some of the Eastern churches. It is from these circumstances a source of

much gratification to myself to consider as one of the results of our expedition, that Mr. Rassam is to remain permanently at a spot where, of all others, his influence in promoting intercommunion between the Church of England and one of the most ancient Churches of the East, will be most beneficially exerted; and although unconnected with our labours, it is equally gratifying to know, that the Rev. Mr. Southgate, of the American Episcopal Church, is about to reside temporarily at Mardin, among the very interesting and long-neglected Syrians*.

Mosul is one of the few towns in Turkey in Asia, the walls of which are throughout in a perfect state of repair. The Bash Tabiyah, a curious untenanted modern structure, at the north-east extremity of the walls, is raised on the ruins of a Christian church (Mar Gabriel),

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* By the changes in church government effected in Mosul in June, 1840, by the envoy of the Pope, M. de Villardelle, bishop of Lebanon, Mar Zahar, bishop of Mosul, was made patriarch, with the title of Mar Nicolaus, and to him were given Baghdad, Mosul, and Al Kosh. He was educated at the Propaganda, in Rome, but appeared to me very uncertain in his allegiance to his Holiness the Pope.

At the same time, Mar Yusuf assumed the episcopal supremacy over the town and district of Amadiyeh; Mar Petros that of Jezireh and Zakho; Mar Michael of Sert; Mar Basileis of Diyarbekr; Mar Agathos of Mardin; and Mar Laurentius of Kerkuk. These are the remaining episcopates of Roman Catholic Chaldeans in ancient Chaldea and Mesopotamia, and the chief population is still to be met with on the fertile plain of Adiabene, in the villages of Tel Kaif, Al Kosh, Batnaia, Tel Escof, Birtulli, &c., and on the plain of Zakho, where are five large Chaldean villages. The Persian population of Roman Catholic Chaldeans is still more considerable.

which commemorated a tradition of the Virgin's appearing to the affrighted citizens at that place, and saving the city from a Persian invasion. Near to the Bash Tabiyah (at the foot of which are the sulphur springs), and overlooking the river, is a massive ruin, called Kara Serai (Black Palace), whose colossal walls are ornamented with an inscription attributing its erection to one of the ata-beys.

The space within the walls at this end of the town is covered with the ruins of houses, tombs, and churches. Among the former is the imam of Abdul Jellul, the Chaldean ancestor of the former line of pashas. There are also here two churches, both called Marian el Adr, one belonging to the Roman Catholic Chaldeans, and the other to the Syrians and Roman Catholic Syrians. In the city itself are eight other Christian churches, but three of them are ruinous and deserted. The Al Towelah, nearly in the centre of the town, is a lofty menareh, remarkable for being inclined from the perpendicular. It is attached to the Jami el Kebir (Great Jami), in the court of which is an exquisitely wrought mihrab. This jami was erected on the site of a Christian church. There is also within the precincts of the town an artificial mound, on which formerly existed the palace of its beys. Not far from this is the citadel, islanded by the waters of the river, and beyond this the bridge, of which a few arches remain, the continuation being preserved by boats. On the plain of Herrakiyeh, where are the modern barracks, the pasha's house, and several Mohammedan religious edifices, are two ancient stone crosses, and a ruined summer-house, called Ali Gadum.

It is to be remarked, that the appearance of the

river, the number of islands, and branches, and its general width, varies very much between the season of flood, when it is nearly a mile in width opposite to the Bash Tabiyah, and the dry season; at this latter period, islands upwards of a mile in length that were submerged for three months of the year, became covered with bamiyah, beydenjam, water melon, and other melons.

A calendar of nature, or the history of the succession of organic life, presents in a dry hot climate like that of Mosul, but few phenomena; the extreme heats cut short all abundance, both in the animal and vegetable world, and the short interval between this and the bleak winters, is the only season in which nature pours forth her living stores on the lap of the earth, and the varied forms given to the organic world run through their brief career.

Already, in February, a few caterpillars were to be observed to survive the frosty nights, sheltered by the enduring plants of the plains belonging to the genera Artemisia and Mimosa. February was a rainy month, and the earth was thus prepared for short spring and its luxuriant vegetation; the mean of the thermometer was + 10° Cent. On the 11th, the first storks made their appearance, and on the 20th, they nearly simultaneously took to their nests; pelicans and cormorants flitted up the Tigris in flocks; ducks, teal, Aleppo plover and dotterels on the Khozar. The mounds of Nineveh began to look green; and the Tigris rose rapidly.

Early in March starlings built and sang; onisci issued from beneath stones; swallows appeared, and red geese migrating from Dongola and Nubia, arrived to build on rocky cliffs over the river; anemonies and

narcissus were now in flower; bees and flies took to wing; frogs spawned; swallows congregated at evening.

In the second week, ranunculuses were in flower; young onions in the market; fig-trees and apricots budded; tadpoles came out; staphylini appeared; flights of ants commenced; wild boars littered; horses were put out to grass.

In the third week, species of cheiranthus, thlaspis, and epipactis were in flower; on sunny banks the ranunculus Asiaticus was met with, as also astralagus spinosus, with light pink flowers; the pretty star of Bethlehem on every greensward; salsafy is dug up on the road-side, east of the Tigris, just as the fresh green leaves come up out of the earth.

By the first week in April, there were about twenty phanerogamous plants in flower; among these, a small species of anthemis represented the daisy of our countries, and flowered to the hot season. The most striking flowers of this season were, Trollius Asiaticus, Sternbergia lutea, and Gladiolus Byzantium. In the gardens the almond was in full bloom, and water melons put forth their cotyledons; at this time, hoopoes made their appearance, and large flocks of bustards were to be seen migrating from the low plains of Mesopotamia to the upland of Armenia.

In the latter half of April, insects became numerous, house lizards came out in the evening, and were especially useful in killing ants; centipedes and scorpions also crawled out of crevices in the houses at sunset; at the same hour innumerable bats issued forth, and were greedily feed upon by hawks. The beautiful bee-eaters arrived and burrowed their nests on the perpendicular

banks of the river, or on the dry hot pathway, where well trodden down, so as to resist the digging propensities of their enemies, the jackalls. The gallery to the nest is often six feet in length, and the young continue to live there some time after they have learnt to fly and provide themselves with food, which led Pliny to say that they fed their parents.

The common iberis now abounds in corn fields, where also flower Linaria Halepensis, which is much sought after by Mosul ladies for its sweet perfume, and many British plants, common to the same situations. Lettuces came into market. The thermometer now averaged + 15°. The weather was variable, there was still much rain in the mountains, and the Tigris rose and fell sometimes as much as ten feet in twenty-four hours.

The first week in May, the fine weather set in. The thermometer averaged + 20°; the flood of the Tigris was now steady from the melting of snows; the grasses of spring, belonging to the genera Poa, Festuca, Bromus, Kæleria, Aria, &c., were now in great part succeeded by species of other genera, as Chrysurus, Brachypodium, Dactyloctenium, Echinaria, etc. The most striking forms of new phanerogamous plants belonged to the family of Euphorbiaceæ and Compositæ; beans were now added to the few vegetables to be obtained in the Mosul market. Young locusts made their appearance, and flocks of locust-birds, Seleucidæ of Pliny, followed; the bounty of providence sending the cure with the evil. The harvest set in the 10th, and terminated before the end of the month; the mean of thermometer for the last week in May, was + 30° Cent. The

inhabitants then slept on the roofs, and repaired in day time to their serdaubs; most of the houses are infested with snakes. Flowering plants began to be parched; grasses withered; horses were put to barley in the field; white clover flowered abundantly, and constitutes the main stay of the bee tribe in these countries. The most common and characteristic way-side plant, the Nigella Damascena, came into flower; the family of Compositæ has still a few gaudy representatives; the twigs and buds of the caper shrub are gathered for pickle; mulberries were ripe. The heats of this season are considered as unwholesome, the body not being seasoned, and there is a frequent and unequal state of tension in the atmospheric electricity.

During the first weeks in June, several hurricanes came on from the plain to the south. The most remarkable phenomenon connected with these was their circumscribed limits. Generally the day on which they occurred was calm and sultry. On such occasions a dense dark bank would be seen coming steadily on from the south, the line of base as distinct as a sheet of water. The next peculiarity was, that the wind blew strongest at the base, which was thus always far in advance of the higher parts of this great sea of sand and dust. I never observed in these hurricanes the whirlwind character which has so much attracted the attention of observers in intertropical countries. The last peculiarity was the enormous quantity of sand and dust, borne along by these ground-tempests, surprising, even when we consider the character of the ground they come over; in other respects, the hurricanes resembled that in which the Tigris steamer was lost in the river Euphrates.

During their prevalence the sky is often cloudless, and there is seldom any rain. The darkness is fearful, and the natives hail the coming of the storm with a peculiar shout of warning.

One fine and cloudless afternoon we observed a meteorite fall over Nineveh. It was also during this early part of the hot season that these dreadful conflagrations before alluded to took place. The thermometer at this time averaged + 40° Centigrade.

At the period of our return from Kurdistan, in the second week of July, the thermometer preserved a mean of 102° Fahr. in the shade, and in the last weeks of the same month 108°, never falling below 104°. There was scarcely any vegetation left, but the gardens furnished beydenjam, bamiyah, pumpkin, water-melon, a great variety of melons, but small, and two kinds of cucumber; apples, pears, and nuts, were brought down from the mountains. Musquitoes became troublesome.

February 9th. To resume our journal: Mr. Rassam left for Baghdad, descending the river Tigris on a raft, and he returned by land on March the 22d. During this interval, I was occupied with my maps and reports for the Royal Geographical Society, and also made two excursions, one of four days, to the ruins of Nimrud, which I have identified with the Resen of Scripture, and the Larissa of Xenophon; and another to the Jebel Aïn el Beitha (the Mons Nicator of the historians of Alexander), and in search of Gaugamela, a spot which, although the name is said to have been significative of the home of a camel (one of Darius'), in the language of the natives, has been so corrupted, as to be no longer recognisable in the Chaldean, Syriac, or Arabic, nor is

there any local tradition to assist in the research, except we might term as such the existence on this plain of a place called Beth Garmæ (the Place of Bones), noticed by ancient Syrian writers, and once a Chaldean episcopate.

The Jebel Aïn el Beitha takes its present name from a clear fountain that issues from its western side. It is a remarkable hill, although not so lofty as the Jebel Maklub, rising by admeasurement only 870 feet above the plain of Adiabene. It has on its culminating point a cairn or mound of stones, of evident antiquity. Although the site of Gaugamela cannot be traced to any existing ruins or village, still there can be no doubt, from all the details of the various historians of the campaign, that the battle of Arbela was fought between this hill and the Great Zab, and on that part of the plain which is watered by the river Khazir (the Bumadus of Quintus Curtius). The Khazir has its origin in the mountains of Kurdistan, to the west of the central ranges of Amadiyeh, where it is known as the Gomel Su, flows across the great plain of Nav-Kur, washing the east side of the Jebel Maklub, and thence flows past the hills of Aïn el Safrah (Yellow Spring), and Aïn el Beitha (White Spring), into the Great Zab, between the ferry of the Izedi Kurds, on the great road from Mosul to Baghdad, and the ruins of Nimrud, near the junction of the Tigris and the Zab. Among minor excursions made at this time, and after the return of Mr. Rassam, were explorations of the course of the the Khozar, or river of Nineveh, to lay down the ruins of that interesting city, and visits to several of the Christian monasteries and villages in the neighbourhood.

On the left bank of the river, and directly opposite to Mosul, are the ruins of "Nineveh, that great city," which now, it is well known, from the reports of a number of travellers, present only a long continuation of mounds, with some of a larger size that are isolated, and others upon which are modern buildings and houses; yet so plain and distinct are these on the level extent of the Assyrian plain, that in looking down from the roof of our house at Mosul, Nineveh always lay extended before us like a map.

The name of Nineveh signifies the Residence of Ninus, probably its founder, but the whole history of this great city is perhaps inexplicably obscure. We have vague accounts in profane writers of its size and splendour, and positive testimony to the same effect in the Bible, yet we only know, that after at least one previous overthrow, it was desolated about 600 B. C., upon the subversion of the Assyrian empire by the rebellion of its provincial governors. From that time the casual notices of historians and travellers, with but little exception, relate only to its fallen state. Lucian, in the second century of the Christian era, says, too strongly, that no vestiges of the city remain, but the later writers uniformly describe Nineveh, in the language of prophecy, as "a desolation."

Benjamin of Tudela, who wrote his Itinerary in the twelfth century, says, that in that time there was only a bridge between Mosul and Nineveh, that the latter was laid waste, but had still many streets,—probably the streets of the village of Nebbi Yunus. Abu-l-Feda, writing in the fourteenth century, merely styles it "the ruined city of Nineveh . . . . . to which the prophet

Jonah, with whom be peace! was sent;" and Tavernier, in the seventeenth, says, "Across the Tigris, which hath a swift stream and whitish water . . . . . you come to the ancient city Nineveh, which is now a heap of rubbish for a league along the river, full of vaults and caverns."

I will now proceed briefly to describe the present condition of this renowned spot, merely premising that it bears with the Turks the name of Eski Nineveh, and among the Christians that of Nunia.

The dimensions of what remains of the city are given by Mr. Rich; and after repeated examinations, and laying down the precincts, both by actual admeasurements, and by angles carried from a determined base, I have found very little to alter in the details given by that gentleman. In respect to the size of the mounds only, there will be some difference in the result obtained by every traveller, as the limits of the mounds, and indeed of the walls also, fading away imperceptibly into the plain, are not sufficiently well defined to admit of perfectly accurate admeasurements.

The ruined walls of the city, as they can be at present traced, extend in the form of an irregular parallelogram, and have a circuit of 9470 yards, being 3500 yards in extent on the western side, 1370 yards on the southern, 2000 yards on the northern, and 2600 yards on the eastern face. On the east side, or that fronting the plains, there are the remains of three walls; on all the other sides there are remains of one wall only.

The question which always appeared to me of the highest interest to determine, is whether the city of Nineveh, and its reputed vast population, were con-

tained within the walls as at present existing, or whether the city extended beyond the walls. Macdonald Kinneir conceived that the ruins opposite to Mosul were those of Ninus and not those of Nineveh itself. According to Niebuhr, Nineveh extended, in the opinion of the Christians of Mosul (very bad authority), from Kadi Keuy to Yarumjah. Rich also considered the inclosure as only forming part of a great city, probably either the citadel or royal precincts, or perhaps both, as the practice of fortifying the residence of the sovereign was of very ancient origin. Notwithstanding such high authority I am inclined to consider the inclosure as having contained all that existed of the antique Nineveh; and I have been able to trace, after repeated examinations, no ruins beyond the boundary of the walls, which are not of a decidedly local character.

The facts apparently opposed to the confined dimensions here assigned to the ancient Nineveh, are the direct and indirect statements transmitted to us by a remote antiquity, and even by Scriptural authority, of the magnitude of this renowned city. Among the former are the statements of Diodorus Siculus, who describes the circuit as comprising 480 stadia, which would be upwards of 97,000 yards, or twice the circuit of London and its suburbs; so enormous and evident an exaggeration, that it is impossible not to conceive that an error has crept into the copies of the original, which more probably reported 48 stadia. And this is suggested in a still more remarkable manner, when we consider that 48 stadia would amount to about 9700 yards, or only 300 yards more than what the walls present in their present area, curtailed as they are by

the encroachments of the Tigris at the south-west angle. It is to be remarked, however, that Strabo, who makes Babylon to have been 385 stadia in circuit, says that Nineveh was much larger.

Of the second kind of statements, or of such as bear indirect testimony on the subject, are the three statements in Jonah i. 2, iii. 3, iv. 11. In the first of these Nineveh is styled "a great city;" in the second, "an exceeding great city of three days' journey." That this statement required some explanation has struck almost all commentators on the Bible, and thus Aben Ezra, Jerome, Cyril, and Theodoret, interpret that the three days' journey has reference to the circuit of the city rather than to its length. The Rev. Mr. Southgate, on visiting the spot, was also forcibly struck with the same thing, and he says, "Nineveh must have occupied a much larger surface than the plain before mentioned unless we are to understand by the three days' journey of Jonah the measurement of its wall, not its diameter*." Considering the nature of Jonah's mission, that he had to go and preach unto the city; to cry against each individual, and warn him of his wickedness; it appears highly probable that the space alluded to in this passage, and also that in iii. 4, when he "began to enter into the city a day's journey," alludes to the streets and space which it was necessary for the prophet to go through to accomplish the objects of his mission; and it will be easily understood that to explore a city of six miles in circuit would occupy at least three days.

It is also asserted in Jonah iv. 11, that there

* *Narrative of a Tour*, &c., vol. ii. p. 222.

were in the same city "more than six score thousand persons; . . . . . and also much cattle." According to the commonly admitted estimate, this would give 120,000 for the entire population—the same number which Pliny attributes to Seleucia, near Babylon, whose walls have a circuit less than those of Nineveh, within the latter of which there would be space for a population of 120,000, and for many cattle, and even for gardens.

The language of Nahum, the Elkoshite, who proclaimed the burden of Nineveh, that proud city, "of whose store and glory there was no end; whose merchants were multiplied above the stars of heaven; whose crowned heads were as the locusts, and whose captains were as the great grasshoppers, which camp in the hedges in the cold day," (Nahum ii. 9, iii. 16, 17,) is evidently too figurative and poetical to be available on either side of the question.

What further inclines me to consider that the ancient city of Nineveh was contained within the existing walls, —besides the non-existence of ruins (except at Yarumjah) without those walls,—is, that there are also the remains within the walls of what appear to have been palaces, temples, and a citadel. The most remarkable of these is well known to travellers as the mound of Koyunjuk (the Little Lamb). This is a vast mass, of irregular form, 43 feet high and 2563 yards in circumference; its sides are steep, and its top nearly flat; it appears to be a mass of transported earth, and is decidedly of artificial origin. Coarse stone, mortar, masonry, and floorings or pavements, are to be seen, and fine bricks, or pottery, with exceedingly small and beautiful cuneiform writing, are to be met with by research, especially

after rain. There are now but few houses upon this great mound. The village of Koyunjuk, that formerly existed on this mound, was destroyed by the followers of the Kurd bey of Rowandiz, in the year 1836, in which year the author first visited these ruins, immediately after the catastrophe, and the mound was then strewn with human bodies.

The next great mound is that of Nebbi Yunus (the Prophet Jonas). It is 10 to 12 feet high, 432 in length, and 355 feet in width. It supports a small village, and a sepulchral building, which is said to contain the remains of the prophet whose name the hill bears. This formerly belonged to the Christians, but is now in the possession of the Mohammedans, who also claim Jonah as a holy man. Whole bricks, and pieces of gypsum, with cuneiform characters, have been found in this mound.

The walls of Nineveh are constructed of earth and gravel, out of which large hewn stones are occasionally dug. These stones are of the limestone of the neighbourhood, and abound in fossil shells; they appear to have formerly been used in the construction of the walls, but a great part were carried away in the construction of the modern Mosul. This is a point of importance in determining the site of the Mes-Pylæ of Xenophon. On the east side the base of the walls is composed of a hard natural conglomerate. This is what Rich calls a conglomeration of pebbles and soil. The spring of Damlanagah issues from this rock formation.

The river Khosar, which is about ten feet wide by two in depth in the spring season, enters the city by an aperture in the walls on the east side, which appears to

have formed part of the original plan, and to have been protected by a gateway and walls, vestiges of which still remain. It is difficult to say what was the ancient course of the river, at present it flows in a very devious manner through the precincts of the walls, turning a mill, in the heart of what was the city, and then washing the south base of the mound of Koyunjuk, before it again opens its way through ramparts, so wide that once three chariots could be driven abreast on them.

The remarkable prophecy of Nahum, "The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved," appears to be fulfilled to the letter.

The precincts included within the walls of Nineveh, are, where not occupied by habitations, roads, mounds, or river, every where cultivated. The mounds and walls also, in the early rains of spring, assume a green and cheerful appearance, but the flowers soon fade, the grass dries up, and the harvest is brought in by the latter end of May; a few fields of cucumbers and melons remain, but except that, all is buried in dry dust. It is then only that the words of Zephaniah (ii. 13, 15) appear in all their force: "He will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness." "This is the rejoicing city, that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none beside me: how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in."

The suggestion of Bochart as to the identity of the Larissa of the Greeks with the Resen of the Old Testament, the identification of the ruins of Nimrud with the city of Larissa by Mr. Rich, and the discovery amid those ruins, of a pyramidal remnant, representing that

which is described to have existed there by the historian of the Anabasis*, serve, with the computation of distances, to establish a very good starting-point for the investigation of that portion of the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks which concerns the country in the neighbourhood of Nineveh.

In all discussions in which the work of Xenophon is referred to as an authority, it is necessary to premise, that the parasang is considered as a known and determined portion of the earth's meridional circumference, or the eight thousandth part, the ellipticity being computed at $\frac{1}{305}$. This gives a value to the parasang of 5468·668 yards, and to the stadium, as a fraction of the same common element of all itinerary measures, 607·62977 feet†.

The distance of six parasangs, traversed by the Greeks, in their journey from the ruins of Larissa to the castle near Mes-Pylæ, corresponds with the existing distances, eighteen miles and three-quarters‡, between the ruins of Nimrud and the mound and ruins of Yarumjah, Nimrud being situated two miles above the junction of the Great Zab and the Tigris, and is so placed in Mr. Rich's Map of the Tigris, but is omitted in that of Captain Lynch, as the steamer did not ascend so high as the junction of the two rivers.

Yarumjah now presents to view a high abrupt bank, which forms a section of an artificial mound, broken

* See *Researches in Assyria, &c.*

† Major Jervis's *Report to the Royal Geographical Society.*

‡ See Captain Lynch's Map of the Tigris, from *Royal Geographical Society's Journal.*

down by the current of the Tigris. This mound is 1150 feet long by 42 in perpendicular height. On its south side is situated the village of Yarumjah, from whence its present name, and the inhabitants of which are Turkomans. Where the soil has been cut down to a precipice by the waters, it exhibits remains of buildings, such as layers of large stones, some with bitumen on them, and a few burnt bricks and tiles. Layers of stone-work are to be seen likewise. Rich considered these vestiges to have formed part of Nineveh, from which, however, they are separated by a considerable interval void of all remnant of buildings. The ignorant and unmeaning tradition of the natives calls it the Pottery of Nineveh.

From the castle, now designated as Yarumjah, the Greeks could see the town of Mes-Pylæ, which must have corresponded to Nineveh. The orthography given here is adopted from Major Rennell, a careful scholar as well as a good geographer. It is, undoubtedly, from Meso-Pulai or Meso-Pylæ, the Middle Gates, Straits, or Pass, and applicable to the narrow and pass of the Tigris, which existed here from the most remote antiquity, which was crossed by the army of Alexander, and is still, from Jezireh to Baghdad, the only great and frequented passage over the Tigris. A strongly corroborative proof of the identity of the Mes-Pylæ of Xenophon with the Nineveh of antiquity, may be derived from the circumstance of the existence of shells in the stone of which the plinth of the wall was fabricated, notwithstanding Leunclavius, who argues that these shells were sculptured, for it is a fact that the common building stone of this neighbourhood is highly fossiliferous, while a similar stone is not met with to the north-

ward or southward of Mes-Pylæ, this formation being succeeded by wastes of gypsum.

The reason why Nineveh had no longer its name in the time of Xenophon and Alexander, I cannot tell, but I suspect it is to be found in the establishment, under circumstances that are not recorded in history, of a second Nineveh, of which we find mention made more particularly by Ammianus Marcellinus, who places it on the Euphrates, in the district of Commagena. Philostratus, also, makes Apollonius, in going from Antioch to Mesopotamia, pass through Nineveh. Bochart likewise admits the existence of a Syrian Nineveh, which, as it was between Samosata and Hierapolis, appears to have been one of the numerous names of Birehjik. I do not, however, bring these circumstances in proof of the name having been for a time transferred to another site, or in elucidation of the statement of Herodotus, that the Euphrates flowed through the city of Nineveh, and of Diodorus, that the same city was built on Euphrates; these statements are contradicted by other passages in the same writers, and they are universally admitted as errors, and so it may also be with the 480 instead of 48 stadia.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Start for Al Hadhr. Baths of Hammam Ali—Tisasphalta. Chase after Wild Boars. Fountains of Bitumen. Kalah Sherkat.—Ur of the Persians. Bivouac by the River's Banks. Khawass killed by the Arabs. Cross the Desert. Arrive at Al Hadhr.

The accidental arrival in Mosul of two English travellers, Messrs. Layard and Mitford, enabled us to make up a strong party to visit the ruins of Kalah Sherkat, the Ur of the Persians, on the Tigris, and the ruins of Al Hadhr, the Hatra of the Chaldeans, and Hatra or Atra of the Romans, on the Mesopotamian Desert. These sites had been visited both by Dr. Ross, of the Baghdad Residency, and by Captain Lynch, but the former gentleman had been disturbed and obliged to leave off his examination abruptly by the evil disposition of the Arabs, and the latter had only passed through them;* so that what existed of details was just enough to excite

* After the loss of the Tigris steamer, on the river Euphrates, Captain Lynch, accompanied by Dr. Eden, crossed the Mesopotamian peninsula from Annah to Mosul, passing in their way the remarkable ruins of Al Hadhr. Dr. Ross visited them from Baghdad, but in an hour after his arrival he was attacked by the Shammar Arabs, who, but that one of them recognised him as the Hakim of Baghdad, would have murdered him and all his party; as it was, he was obliged to make a precipitate retreat. His notes upon this hitherto undescribed city of the desert are consigned to the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*. It is highly desirable that an experienced archæologist and a draughtsman should visit these ruins, and lay before the world correct representations of the various sculptures and images, which are undoubtedly of high historical value.

an enthusiastic desire to know more, and the results of our expedition were on this score highly satisfactory.

The party consisted of the above-mentioned gentlemen, Mr. Rassam, and myself, and we were accompanied by our old friend the Arab of Tunis, who had accompanied us on our journey from Urfah to the Turkish frontier near Mardin, and who had left us there to cross the plain to Ras el Ain; near which an affair had taken place shortly afterwards with the Shammar Arabs, in which the irregular cavalry of the Egyptians was worsted; our friend, Haji Ali, had abandoned his horse to save his life, and had sought refuge at Mosul, when we took him into our service (a chaoush of Bedwins!) as a groom. We had also with us a khawass from Mohammed Pasha of Mosul, who a short time before had presented me, as a return for medical assistance given to him, with a strong able horse, which was of great service to me on this and on our Chaldean expedition.

We started on Saturday, April 18th, travelling at first across the cultivated plain south of Mosul. At this season of the year barley was in flower; fig, almond, and mulberry-trees were in full bloom, but the pistachio as yet only budding. On the sandy deposits of the river the water-melon had put forth its cotyledons. Doves and quails had returned a few days before from their migrations. As the river was high we were obliged to turn up the rocky uplands, west of the ruinous building designated as El Kasr in Lieutenant Lynch's map, but better known at Mosul as El Seramum, an old country residence of its pashas. The cliffs which advance at this point over the Tigris, form the south-

eastern termination of a low range of hills which stretch to the north-west, and are known as the Jubailah (Hilly Range); they are from six to nine miles in width. On the banks of the Tigris there is a deposit of sulphur in the gypsum of this range.

The rocky acclivities and stony valleys of the Jubailah were now clad with a beautiful vegetation. Grass was abundant, and the greensward was chequered with red ranunculuses and composite plants of a golden-yellow hue, which enliven at this season of the year, by their contrast, the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, wherever they are stony. Crossing the Jubailah, and leaving the village of Abu Jawari (the Father of Female Slaves) to our left, we descended upon another alluvial plain, such as, on the Tigris and Euphrates, whether cultivated or covered with jungle, is equally designated Hawi. The present one was cultivated, and contained the villages of Oreij (diminutive of Araj, Lame), and Kabru-l Abid (the Slave's Tomb). They are both inhabited by Arabs, now pasturing their flocks on the Jubailah hills.

At the end of this plain the ground rose, and at this point were the baths and village of Hammam Ali; the latter inhabited by a few Chaldees, settled here by the pasha of Mosul to cultivate the land. The thermal spring is covered by a building, only commodious for a half savage people, yet the place is much frequented by persons of the better classes, both from Baghdad and Mosul. The spring appears to have changed its place of exit, as a ruinous building, beneath which once issued the spring, is now 150 yards distant from it. The waters are abundant, evolving hydro-sulphurous

acid, and giving off much bitumen. Their taste was vapid. The thermometer indicated a temperature of 84·6 Fahr. The spring issues from a coarse granular gypsum.

Near Hammam Ali is a mound about sixty feet high, called Tellu-l Sakik (the Mound of the Victor), from a tradition of an engagement having taken place in this neighbourhood. From this tell a range of low mounds extends about 300 yards to the south-west, where it joins another line, consisting of two rows of low mounds with an intervening fosse, which extends in a north-west direction as far as to the Hawi. It would appear that these lines of circumvallation once encompassed a village or site of more importance than the present assemblage of poor huts; which no doubt coincides with the Tisalphta of Ammianus, more properly written by Rennell, Tisasphalta (the Place of Asphalte), but which, from identifying Al Hadhr with the Ur of the Persians, he was led to place to the north instead of the south of Mosul.

April 19*th*. Leaving Hammam Ali we crossed an extensive Hawi, near the centre of which is the village of Safatus, inhabited by the Arab tribe of Juhaish (of the Ass's Colt), whence its name, Jeyush, in Lynch's map. We then turned off to the right to the ruined village of Jeheinah or Jehennem (Hell, or the Lower Regions), which name excited our expectations, but we only found some old houses of a better class situate upon the side of the hills which flank the Hawi to the west. Our road continued for three hours over verdant prairies on an upland of gypsum with some tracts of sandstone, when we arrived at Wadi-l Kasab,

(Reed Valley), the banks of a sluggish stream, being covered with plants. Mr. Rassam and Haji Ali had remained behind, and I left the remainder of the party to hunt the banks of the stream, which I knew in such a desolate country would be the resort of game. I had not proceeded far before I roused a large old sow, which, instead of running away made directly at me, to the astonishment of the horse which arose affrighted on its hind legs. I gave the view halloo to Messrs. Mitford and Layard, who were only about half a mile distant, and firing a pistol in the face of my hirsute assailant, soon caused her to face about. My friends soon joined, and holding the horse, I dismounted and ran into the jungle, not doubting but, from the sow's anger, I should find a litter, and just as I reached the water's edge the last of the young pigs had taken to the water; it was not deep, however, so I followed and caught him round the waist as he was endeavouring to climb up the opposite bank, and brought him back a squalling but valuable prize.

Mr. Mitford and I (Mr. Layard not being so well mounted wished to spare his horse for the journey,) now joined in chase of the other pigs. As we followed the course of the rivulet we roused numerous other boars who came to swell the retinue of the old sow and her young ones. After a short run we succeeded, however, in driving them from the unequal ground of the valley into the open country, and here, after a further short run, we succeeded in capturing each another pig; but as this made three, and two were quite enough to answer our present demands, we let the other poor creature run away.

As we returned from this amusing chase, we found

Haji Ali had come up, and had, on his part shot a hare, so we were well provisioned to spend, as we anticipated, the night in the desert. Leaving this valley we approached the Tigris, a few miles below the tomb of Sultan Abdullah, which was the extreme point reached by the Euphrates steamer in 1839, and passing an abundant rivulet of waters which filled the air with the odour of hydro-sulphurous acid, we came to a level, naked spot, inclosed by rocks of gypsum, on the floor of which were innumerable springs of asphalte, or bitumen, oozing out of the soil in little circular fountains, from six to nine inches in diameter, but often buried beneath or surrounded by a deep crust of indurated bitumen. These fountains cover a space of land nearly 100 yards in width and 500 long. To the west are some low hills, named Al Kayyarah, or the Pitch-place (whence bitumen is derived).

A little beyond these pits we found other springs, giving off an equal quantity of bitumen. These are the only cases I know of springs of pure asphalte in Western Asia. The celebrated springs at Hit, and those of Dalaki, in Persia, give off bitumen as a swimming product, as at Hammam Ali. The fountains of asphalte on the Tigris are situate near the southern extreme of the gypsum formation, where it is succeeded by red sandstones; and their geological relations, notwithstanding the upraising of the Hamrin upon a similar axis to the south, are the same as those of the fountains on the Euphrates and in Persia, or nearly at the limits of a series of rock-formations, which become more and more modern from the Taurus to the alluvial plains, which latter extend farther to the north, up the valley

of the Tigris than up that of the Euphrates; whence the diagonal position of the Median wall, which bounds the two formations.

Evening was coming on apace. Herds of wild boars were feeding on the Hawi, and an occasional wolf stole along the hill-side, or met us on our path, as we approached a thick jungle with the view to encamp there. On entering this, beautiful francolins, the pheasants of Mesopotamia and Arabia, flew away in various directions, while numerous boars started away to a short distance, and then turned round to stare at the intruders. On approaching the river we found the banks so high that we could not water the horses, nor could our ingenuity devise a plan by which to do so, and this obliged us to continue our journey till darkness forced us to bring up in a nearly equally unsatisfactory place, at the foot of a tell upon the banks of a river.

Haji Ali, although a Mohammedan, lent a willing hand in skinning the pigs, but he and the khawass dined upon hare. It was with difficulty that we could collect enough dry thistles and rushes to make a fire large enough to broil a pig, but after some labour this was accomplished, and with the horses picketed around us, pasturing all night on savoury grasses, we took turn to watch, and resigned ourselves to a sleep which is never more profound than when enjoyed in the midst of a vast, unbroken solitude.

April 20th. Starting over a low range of hills of red sandstone we entered upon an extensive Hawi, over which we travelled two hours. The banks of the river were well-wooded and picturesque; extensive tracts of meadow-land were bounded by green hills,

and terminated in islands of several miles in length, covered with trees and brushwood, amid which winded the rapid Tigris, in a broad and noble expanse, visible as far as the eye could reach. The quantity of large wood near it is greater than on the Euphrates, and the resources for steam navigation are very great.

Passing cliffs of red sandstone, from which point to the Hamrin hills the Tigris follows a more easterly course, we came to a valley with a brackish rivulet coming from the Wadi-l Ahmer (Red Valley), and out of which several large boars ran away before us. Steep cliffs advanced beyond this to the banks of the river, and obliged us to turn inwards upon the uplands, from which we first gained a view of Kalah Sherkat, situate in the midst of a most beautiful meadow, well wooded, watered by a small tributary to the Tigris, washed by the noble river itself, and backed by the rocky range of the Jebel Khanukah, now covered with broad and deep shadows. In three hours' time we arrived at the foot of this extensive and lofty mound, where we took up our station on the northern side, immediately below the central ruin, and on the banks of a ditch formed by the recoil of the Tigris.

Although familiar with the great Babylonian and Chaldean mounds of Birs Nimrud, Mujallibah and Orchoe, the appearance of the mass of construction now before us filled me with wonder. On the plain of Babylonia to build a hill has a meaning; but there was here a strange adherence to an antique custom, in piling brick upon brick, without regard to the cost and value of labour, where hills innumerable and equally good and elevated sites were easily to be found. Although in

places reposing upon solid rock (red and brown sandstones), still almost the entire depth of the mound, which was in parts upwards of 60 feet high, and at this side 909 yards in extent, was built of sun-burnt bricks, like the Aker Kuf and the Mujallibah, only without intervening layers of reeds. On the side of these lofty artificial cliffs numerous hawks and crows nestled in security, while at their base was a deep sloping declivity of crumbled materials. On this northern face, which is the most perfect as well as the highest, there occurs at one point the remains of a wall built with large square-cut stones, levelled and fitted to one another with the utmost nicety, and bevelled upon the faces, as in many Saracenic structures; the top stones were also cut away as in steps. Mr. Ross deemed this to be part of the still remaining perfect front, which was also the opinion of some of the travellers now present; but so great is the difference between the style of an Assyrian mound of burnt bricks and this partial facing of hewn stone, that it is difficult to conceive that it belonged to the same period, and if carried along the whole front of the mound, some remains of it would be found in the detritus at the base of the cliff, which was not the case. At the same time its position gave to it more the appearance of a facing, whether contemporary with the mound or subsequent to it I shall not attempt to decide, than of a castle, if any castle or other edifice was ever erected here by the Mohammedans, whose style it so greatly resembles. On the same side we visited the subterranean passage noticed by Mr. Ross; and Mr. Mitford found there the head of a small urn.

Our researches were first directed towards the mound

itself, which we found to be in the form of an irregular triangle, having a total circumference of 4685 yards; whereas the Mujallibah, the supposed Tower of Babel, is only 737 yards in circumference; the great mound of Borsippa, known as the Birs Nimrud, and by some supposed to be the real Tower of Babel, 762 yards; the Kasr (or terraced palace) of Nebuchadnezzar, 2100 yards; and the mound called Koyunjuk at Nineveh, 2563 yards. But it is to be remarked of this Assyrian ruin on the Tigris, that it is not entirely a raised mound of sun-burnt bricks; on the contrary, several sections of its central portions displayed the ordinary pebbly deposit of the river, a common alluvium; and where swept by the Tigris, the mound appeared to be chiefly a mass of rubble and ruins, in which bricks, pottery, and fragments of sepulchral urns lay embedded in humus, or alternated with blocks of gypsum; finally, at the southern extremity, the mound sinks down nearly to the level of the plain. The side facing the river displayed to us some curious structures, four round towers, well built and fresh-looking as if of yesterday. Their use is altogether a matter of conjecture: they were not strong enough to have formed buttresses against the river; nor were they connected by a wall. The general opinion appeared to be in favour of hydraulic purposes, either as wells or pumps, communicating with the Tigris.

All over this great surface we remarked traces of foundations of stone edifices, with abundance of bricks and pottery, as observed before us, to which we may add, bricks vitrified with bitumen, as are found at Rahabah, Babylon, and other ruins of the same epoch;

bricks with impressions of straws, &c., sun-dried, burnt, and vitrified; and painted pottery with colours still very perfect; but after two hours' unsuccessful search by Messrs. Mitford, Layard, and myself, Mr. Rassam was the first to pick up a brick close to our station, on which were well-defined and indubitable arrow-headed characters. This great mound is crowned by a lesser one that is crumbling to pieces, but that is still about forty feet in height.

By the character of its remains as well as by its position, the ruins of Kalah Sherkat identifies itself with the same period as that of the Assyrian cities of Nineveh, and of Resen or Nimrud, on the same river; yet its remote history remains at the present moment unknown. Ammianus Marcellinus, the historian of Julian's exploits, is the only authority that I have met with who notices in the same neighbourhood Ur, a site, as its name would indicate, of great antiquity, and which has by Rennell and others been identified with Al Hadhr; but Ammianus, who calls it a castle of the Persians, describes it as at some distance from that place. Cellarius, speaking of Ammianus, says, "He adds the castle Ur, in Upper Mesopotamia, situate between the Tigris and Nisibis, which some think is the Ur of the Chaldeans; after this is Hatra, an old city in the midst of the desert, also between the Upper Tigris and Nisibis." There can be no doubt then that the only author who notices an Ur in this part of the world did not confound it with Hatra. In the passage in which it is called Ur of the Persians, Ammianus relates, that after a journey of six days in the solitude or desert in which Hatra is situated, they came to Ur,

a castle of the Persians, and this decidedly implies a journey of six days from the time the army crossed Tigris, travelling along the banks of the river, which they must have adhered to for water, and through the deserts in which Hatra was situated, rather than through Hatra itself. The same author says further on, "Making long journeys we came near to Hatra;" near Hatra, and not at it; this accounts for the army passing Tisalphata, which would not have been on their road to Nisibis, if they had passed through Hatra.

It is to be remarked here, that the traditions of the natives, Christian and Mohammedan, as well as the testimony of all Oriental historians, leave scarcely a doubt that this was not the Ur of the Chaldees, which corresponds to the modern Urfah, while, as I have shown in my *Researches*, &c., there was still another Ur, built by the Chaldeans, either during the Chaldæo-Babylonian dynasty, or after their expulsion from Babylon and Borsippa, in memory of the city of their fathers, and which was the Urchoe, or Orchoe, of Ptolemy and Pliny, represented by the great mound of Mogaiyeh on the desert beyond Suk el Shiuk.

We sat down, fatigued with our researches, at the foot of the cliff of ruins, where we had picketed our horses, to cook our remaining pig, the Mohammedans contenting themselves with a bit of bread; we had unluckily omitted to bring any coffee with us. As we sat round the fire, smoking a pipe, a snake crawled right into it, while hundreds of beetles kept wandering round the verge of the ashes.

After dark the frogs of the jungle mingled their croaking with the whoop of night birds and the howl

of jackals, while thirsty musquitoes hummed in our ears; but putting out the fire in order to distinguish the horses better during the night, we disregarded the melody around and about us, and slept undisturbed in our cloaks till the earliest dawn.

At Kalah Sherkat it was my intention to quit the river's banks and penetrate the wilderness to Al Hadhr, guided by the compass and Mr. Ross's map, for neither the khawass nor the Arab knew aught about the position of the ruins. Unfortunately Mr. Rassam had communicated this over-night to Haji Ali, and in the morning the khawass begged to be allowed to leave us, and retrace his steps, under the plea that his horse had lost a shoe, was lamed, and could not proceed any farther. I did not like letting the man go such a long journey by himself, and consulted with Messrs. Layard and Mitford upon the matter, when, considering that it was his own wish to go, that he would make a very disagreeable companion if forced on the journey, that an Osmanli would be viewed with greater hostility by the Arabs, if we met them, than even we should, I gave him as much bread as I could possibly spare, and let him go. But it appeared, while we had now travelled two days without seeing a human being, that, as is generally the case, others had seen us, but had not come down to meet six mounted and well-armed men, but a single horseman, and an Osmanli, was too great a prize, and they attacked and murdered him shortly after his leaving us; for when, on our return to Mosul, he was found missing, Mohammed Pasha sent out in the search, and his body was found stripped within a few hours of Kalah Sherkat. This poor man left a widow

and children at Mosul, for whom we contributed all that was in our power.

On leaving Kalah Sherkat we kept a little to the south of Wadi el Meheih, in which there was now no running water, in order to avoid retracing our steps to the south, as Mr. Ross had done. We travelled at a quick pace over a continuous prairie of grasses and flowering plants, and crossing the Ain el Thaleb, having still a little stagnant water, we arrived at a ridge of rocks which rose above the surrounding country. From a mound, upon which were a few graves, we obtained a comprehensive view of that part of Mesopotamia which extended to the west, but without being able to distinguish the valley of the Tharthar, a brook which traverses this part of Mesopotamia; or the ruins of Al Hadhr. The country near us undulated much, and to the south-west the Hamrin hills terminated in a long but not very elevated range, upon which was a cone called El Katr, which forms the westerly termination of the Hamrin; and, as we afterwards found, advanced over the valley of the Tharthar.

The compass indicated, judging by Ross's map, a more northerly course from hence, but the sharp sight of the Bedwin Haji Ali was in favour of some mounds which were visible in the extreme distance to the south of west; so, having much confidence in his acquaintance with the appearance that ruins would present on the desert at such a distance, we followed these indications, but, as it turned out, fallaciously. After two hours and a quarter's quick travelling, still over prairies and undulating country, we came to the supposed ruins, which turned out to be bare hills of sandstone, the

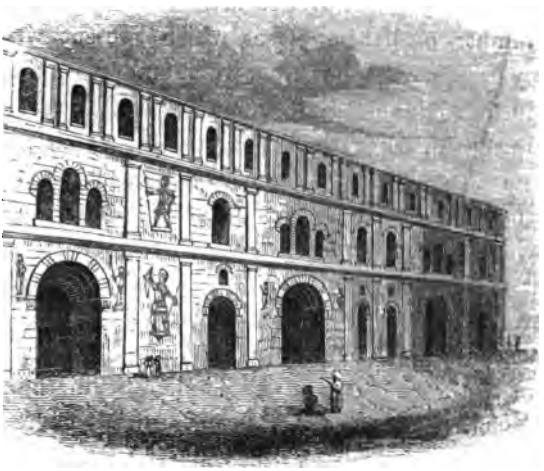
southern termination of a low ridge. Although pestered by sand-flies, we stopped a few moments and breakfasted on bread and wild leeks, which are abundant every where, and frequently enamel with their roseate and clustered umbels the lichen-clad space that intervene between the dark-green bushes of wormwood.

Changing our route, we started to the north-west, in which direction we arrived, after an hour and a quarter's ride, at a valley bounded in places by rock terraces of gypsum, which indicated a wadi and a winter torrent, or actual water. To our joy we found the Tharthar flowing along the bottom of this vale, but only from fifteen to twenty feet in width instead of the fifty we had been led to expect; and to our great comfort the waters were very potable. The stream, though narrow, was deep, generally from five to seven feet, and hence with difficulty fordable: on its banks were a few reeds and scattered bushes of tamarisk. We proceeded up the stream in a direction north-west in search of a ford, which we found after one hour's slow and irregular journey, and we lost half an hour refreshing ourselves with a bath. We afterwards followed the right bank of the stream, being unwilling, as evening was coming on, to separate ourselves, unless we actually saw Al Hadhr, from the water so necessary for ourselves and our horses. The river soon came from a more westerly direction, flowing through a valley every where clad with a luxuriant vegetation of grasses, sometimes nearly half a mile in width, at others only three or four hundred yards, and again still more narrowed occasionally by terraces of gypsum. This rock was very cavernous, and furnished from its recesses many subterranean springs.

At one place we observed a part of the waters of the Tharthar absorbed by a fissure in the rock. We stopped one hour before sunset in order to have time to collect wood before dark, and dined upon rock partridges killed at Kalah Sherkat.

April 22*nd*. Rain overtook us in our sleep, which was otherwise unbroken even by dreams of Arabs, still less by their presence; indeed we had been hitherto as quiet as if travelling on the downs of Sussex. After holding a short consultation over Mr. Ross's memoir, we deemed it best to keep on up the river, but to travel a little inwards on the heights. This plan was attended with perfect success; and we had ridden only one hour and a half, when we perceived through the misty rain, mounds still to the north-west, which we felt convinced were the sought-for ruins. Mr. Rassam and myself hurried on, but soon afterwards, perceiving a flock of sheep in the distance, we became aware of the presence of Arabs, who could be no other than the Shammar, so we waited for our friends and rode altogether into the kind of hollow in which Al Hadhr is situated. Here we perceived the tents of the Bedwins extending far and wide within the ruins and without the walls to the south-west. The ruins themselves presented a magnificent appearance, and the distance at which the tall bastions appeared to rise, as if by enchantment, out of the wilderness, filled us with wonder and surprise, no doubt in great part due, not only to the splendour of the ruins, but also to the strange place where the traveller meets with them—"in mediâ solitudine," as Ammianus so briefly but so correctly expresses it.

CHAPTER XXXV.



Restored Palace of Hatra.

Reception by the Shammar Arabs. Inscriptions on Stones. Singular Sculptures. Jewish and Arabic Inscriptions. Roman Frieze. An Astronomical City. Its Chaldean origin. Resists the Romans. River Tharthar. Start from Al Hadhr. Arab Tribes. Geographical Botany. Vegetation of the Desert. Our Visit returned by the Shammar Chief.

INQUIRING of a shepherd for the tent of the sheikh, which we soon after distinguished by its two spears, we rode directly up to it, and in a few minutes found ourselves seated by a spare camel-dung-fire, and surrounded by members of the Lamud branch of the Shammar Arabs. Happily for us there was at this moment in the encampment an Arab merchant of Mosul who

recognised Mr. Rassam, and the reception given to us was at once hospitable and tolerably frank*.

The finding Arabs here is indeed what may generally be expected by any traveller in search of these ruins. The number of halting-places which present what is actually necessary for the Arab, water and grass, is not so great in the plains of Mesopotamia and Arabia as is generally imagined. For the same reason that cities were built on these oases in the wilderness, the wandering Arab now resorts to situations where there are waters, and with them pasturage. Hence the traveller may be almost as sure of meeting Arabs at Palmyra as at Al Hadhr. To M. de Lamartine's work on the East, there is appended a very valuable memoir, purporting to be an account of the residence of Fat-h-allah Seghir amongst the wandering Arabs of the Great Desert. There are a number of facts which convince me of the authenticity of this document, but I shall content myself with noticing what refers to Al Hadhr. Leaving Nain el Raz, evidently meant for Ras al Ain, the party which the narrator accompanied pitched their tents on the banks of the Khabur, from whence they proceeded to the mountains of Sangiar (Sinjar): they then drew towards what the writer designates a river, or rather arm of the Euphrates, which joins the Tigris. This is evidently an error founded upon the mysterious origin of the Tharthar. He then describes the enormous trays used by the

* One of the first questions put to us, was, "Were you not afraid in coming among us that we should kill you?" The answer was "Why should we be more afraid of Arabs than of Osmanli Turks? are you not to be visited?"

Bedwins of Mesopotamia, and of which a specimen was measured by Mr. Ross. The Arabs proceeded from the Tharthar to the territory of Atterie, near the ruins of the castle of Attera (Hadhr), where they encamped for eight days, the pasturage being very abundant. The course here followed by the Arabs is in every respect the same as that pursued every year by the Shammar, in their migrations to and from their winter quarters on the plains of Seleucia to their summer quarters on the Khabur and in the Sinjar.

At the present moment, Sufuk, the chief of all the Shammar, was, with a large body of horsemen, at Ras al Ain, from which he had driven the Anaidi of Ibrahim Pasha, while the main body of the tribes remained part on the Khabur and part near the Sinjar, where they were also at enmity with the Izedis*.

Having breakfasted upon newly made bread and fresh butter, the latter a luxury not to be obtained at Mosul, we made our first visit to the ruins, during which some of the Arabs gave us much annoyance by their rudely anxious and almost imperious inquiries as to the exact spot where the money was, which they felt quite certain we had come to seek for. At length, having returned to the tent, Mr. Rassam addressed them upon the folly of the ideas which they entertained regarding finding treasures, and endeavoured to explain the real object of our researches, in which he was backed

* The title of Shammar (Men without Bondage) is assumed by all the Bedwin or roving Arabs in Mesopotamia and Babylonia, just as that of Anazeh is taken by the Bedwins of Syrian Arabia, and the west bank of Euphrates.

by the sheikh and the merchant, and we were left the remainder of the day among the ruins, pretty well to ourselves—a circumstance which, however, was also in great part owing to a rumour which got abroad, that an army was following in our steps, and in consequence of which the tribe judged it convenient to take their immediate departure without sound of drum or trumpet; and, three hours after our arrival, there were only the tent of the sheikh and a small one near it remaining of the whole encampment.

The ruins of Al Hadhr present the remains of a principal building which apparently was at once a palace and a temple, and which surpasses in extent and in the perfection of its style the ruin known as the Tak i Kesra, or Arch of Chosroes, at Ctesiphon, the residence of the kings of Persia of the Arsacidan dynasty. It consisted of a series of vaulted chambers or halls, of different sizes, all opening to the east, or towards the rising sun and planets, and regularly succeeding one another from north to south, and was divided into two parts by a wall; while in front was another row of edifices, guard-houses, &c., at the southern end of which was a great hall, with ornamented vault and tall columns, similar to what is observed in the chief edifice. The whole of these buildings were inclosed within a wall about 1360 yards square, which left a considerable space open in front, and this open square was in the exact centre of the town, which is nearly a perfect circle, surrounded by a rampart, about 3 miles 180 yards in circumference. Portions of the curtain, which was 10 feet 3 inches in width, still remain on this rampart; and there are also the ruins of thirty-two bastions, placed at

unequal intervals. The space occupied by the town still contains the ruins of tombs and other edifices, and is everywhere covered by mounds of ruined buildings. There is also a spring, and a channel for water, not straight but tortuous, which crosses the town: and there were apparently four gates, having straight roads leading from them to the central edifice.

Every stone, not only in the chief building but in the walls and bastions, and other public monuments, when not defaced by time, is marked with a character, which is, for the most part, either a Chaldaic letter or numeral. But some of them could not be deciphered either by Mr. Rassam or by a Jewish rabbi of Jerusalem, whom we consulted at Mosul; for it is necessary to remark that the Chaldeans, or Chaldees, since their conversion to Christianity, have uniformly adopted the Syriac letters which were used by the Apostles and Fathers of the Church, regarding the pagan writing (or Tergum, as they call it) as an abomination. The Jews, however, who learnt it in their captivity, have retained, except in their Talmud and some other works written in the Hebrew character, the use of Chaldean letters. Some of the letters at Al Hadhr resembled the Roman A, and others were apparently astronomical signs, among which were very common the ancient mirror and handle, ♀, emblematic of Venus, the Mylitta of the Assyrians, and Alitta of the Arabians, according to Herodotus; and the Nani or Nannania of the Syrians.

These letters were generally about one or two inches in size, and carefully sculptured, one in the centre of the face of each stone; this, still obtaining in a comparatively modern Chaldean town, appears to have been in

perpetuation of the practice, observed and carried to a much greater extent in the inscriptions on bricks in the older Assyrian, Chaldean and Babylonian cities.

The southerly hall, which is small, has externally every stone in the arch sculptured, in high relief, with a human bust, some of which have very singular curling bag-wigs, or, more probably, a peculiar mode of dressing hair, which we know to be common in Persian sculptures, but those, I believe, only of a modern date, or more particularly of the time of the Sassanian dynasty.

The second hall is of greater dimensions, and the figures on the arch were those of angels, or females apparently in the air, with feet crossed and robes flying loose; while in the interior, on both sides of the hall, were three square pilasters, surmounted by full round faces, in high relief, and executed with considerable fidelity and spirit.

While the style of these sculptures appears to be pretty nearly uniform, it is impossible not to recognise costumes differing much from one another. Indeed, it requires but little imagination to figure to oneself in these sculptures the representations of the successive powers who ruled the City of the Desert. The simple turban-like head-dress represents the Chaldean; the bearded physiognomy and scattered hair, the Persian satrap; the laurel-leaved band, supporting eagle's wings, the Roman; while the binding round the head, like a double fold of rope, as it is also described by Mr. Ross, appears the original of the present Arab head-dress. It may be advanced against this view on the subject, that if the building is all of one style, this style must also be carried through all its details, and that we cannot expect

that any of the decorations can be illustrative of different periods; but there is no reason why, if the Parthians or Persians borrowed their style from the Romans, they still might not have introduced their own sculpture, as at Persepolis; or, if the Romans built the great monument of Al Hadhr, they might equally have been influenced by a conquered people to introduce, as well as letters, forms sacred to their religion, or gratifying to their pride and to their national reminiscences.

On the face of the wall of this great hall, besides the signs before mentioned, are two inscriptions, one in Chaldaic, the other in Arabic, both cut in the stones, but which run along from one to another, and are evidently more modern than the building. The first, translated by a Jewish rabbi, appears to be the lament of some Jews of the Captivity; for ancient Chaldeans would scarcely use the language of David: "In justice to thee who art our salvation, I hope from thee, O God, for help against mine enemies." The general opinion among the Jews is in favour of this inscription having been written during the Captivity. The rabbis could not decipher the signs of older date; some are Chaldean numerals, others they consider to be astronomical signs, while not a few appear to be Parthian or Armenian. The Arabic inscription was copied and translated by Mr. Rassam; its purport is as follows:—"Mesud Ibn Maudud Ibn Tamanki, the just king, protector of religion, and defender of the faith, in humble service, and seeking mercy from his Lord, caused this to be repaired in the year of the Hejira 586" (A.D. 1190). This evidences the fact, that Al Hadhr was an inhabited town in the time of the ata-beys of Mosul, for Azzu-d-din

Mesud Ibn Maudud reigned there from A.D. 1180 to 1193; yet it is mentioned as deserted at the period of the retreat of Julian's army.

With the assistance of lights we examined the subterranean rooms connected with the first great hall, but did not find anything of interest.

In the rear of the same great hall is another apartment surrounded by a lofty vaulted passage. From its beautifully ornamented doorway, and complete seclusion from the other parts of the edifice, it may be conjectured to have been a religious sanctuary. Over the doorway is the most beautifully sculptured relief in the whole building; it represents griffons supporting heads, human and others, and in the centre is the head of Apollo, or Mithra, supported by eagles with scrolls in their mouths; beneath is some beautifully sculptured foliage. It is evidently of Roman execution. It would appear as if the Romans had contributed to adorn a temple consecrated to the worship of a deity in whom they recognised their own Apollo, adding the Roman eagles to the insignia of Mithra, who was the same as the Bel of the Chaldeans.

At the first small hall of the northern division, the sculptures over the arch of the entrance are among the most perfect of the out-of-door sculptures. They appear to be alternations of male and female heads, the first having the peculiar head-dress previously noticed, while the latter present a remarkable similarity to the present style of dress in Western Europe. Some of the ladies have dresses like corsets, terminating in a point. Most of them wear tiaras of jewels, some have necklaces, and the bust is neatly and only partially displayed. The

hair falls on the shoulders of some in a profusion of ringlets, in others is trimmed up in large curls, and again in some puffed out behind, as was once the case at the French court. On the wall is also the sculpture of a monstrous animal.

The walls were measured in all their details of bastions, &c., and were found to be 5460 yards round, which comes remarkably near to the amount in yards of the Persian farsakh, the Jewish parsah, and the Greek parasang, if we assume that to be an integral portion of the earth's meridional circumference, or the eight-thousandth part, which, computed to the ellipticity $\frac{1}{305}$, will be equal to 5468·668 yards English. The exactness of the forms observed in the construction of Al Hadhr—a square within a circle and in its exact centre—certainly point out that a system was observed in its construction; and it is a striking corroboration of the facts observed of the circumference, that the sides of the inner square are 340 or 341 yards in length, or the one-sixteenth of the circumference, of which the whole square is at or near one-fourth. Had all the admeasurements been taken with care, probably a similar system would have been found to pervade the whole of the details.

Within the circuit of the walls were many ruins of doubtful character. It would only be the result of a very hasty examination which could confine the dwelling-houses merely to the western part of the city, and assign to the eastern a continuous necropolis. Some of these buildings are square, and they are of different sizes. One ornamented with pillars, had two interior vaulted chambers with an outer vaulted hall, and a stair leading to the top as if to sleep upon it, as is the custom at

Mosul and Baghdad. The openings to let in light are more like loopholes than windows, but this may have been for coolness and from want of glass, as is observed in the cottages of the peasants in the East. A large square building, with one vaulted chamber, which appears to have been a small temple or mausoleum, occurs on the northern side. It is built upon a handsome basement, with a projecting but simple cornice. I ought not to omit to mention that the pear-shaped cavities common in Syria are also met with amid the ruins here.

It only remains for me to make one or two observations upon the history of this remarkable city of the desert.

It is evident from the character of the greater number of the letters and signs inscribed on the hewn stones, that the original builders were Chaldeans or Chaldees.

Modern historians admit the existence of the Chaldeans as a northern nation anterior to the foundation of the Chaldæo-Babylonian dynasty. No monuments of this ancient people have, however, as yet been discovered, which can be ascertained to belong to a period anterior to that dynasty, unless we admit as such the Assyrian ruins of Nineveh, Resen, and Ur, afterwards a Persian castle. It certainly appears by the remains at Borsippa and Orchoe, that they constructed huge mounds or lofty temples to their deity Bel, in the same manner as the Babylonians. But it is not certain that they did this everywhere; for although there is every reason to believe that Urfah was one of the Urs of the Chaldees, yet no remnants of this kind are there met with, and were it not that we find that custom preserved

where there are rocks and stones for building, as at Kalah Sherkat, one would have felt inclined to confine it to the country for which it was best suited, and where it sprang partly from necessity. Still, from what is known of the ancient style of the Chaldeans, as well as from the peculiarities observed in the construction of the monuments now to be seen at Al Hadhr, there is every reason for determining that city to be of a comparatively recent date.

It is further evident that in the course of the changes which befel all the great powers in the East, that this city was ruled by Armenians, by Persians, and by Romans*.

According to Dion Cassius, by Xiphilinus, Trajan, after his descent of the Tigris and Euphrates, and having proclaimed Parthamaspates king at Ctesiphon, entered *Arabia* against Atra, but want of water and provisions, with great heats, drove him away.

In the time of Arsaces (Ardawan), Septimius Severus, who also returned by the Tigris from Ctesiphon, besieged this city, upon which occasion his machines were burnt by the "Greek fire," which appears to have been the bitumen so abundant in the neighbourhood. His men also were slain, and for want of provisions, and

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* The fragments of Dion Cassius, preserved by Xiphilinus, notice the people of Al Hadhr as Ἀγαρηνοί, which, as Valesius pointed out, should be Ἀτρηνοί. For Dion, relating the campaign of Severus, writes τὰ Ἄτρα, and Herodianus, αἱ Ἄτραι. Ammianus writes it Hatra, as does also Cellarius. The Peutingerian tables, almost always in error, call it Hatris. Zonaras names it πόλιν Ἀράβιον, an Arabian city. Stephanus merely says, that it is situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

after twenty days' siege, the Roman emperor was forced to retreat. Thus did this remarkable city, from the peculiarity of its position in the midst of a treeless desert, with one well of water and the brackish brook of the Tharthar flowing by, superadded to the skill, science, and determination of its inhabitants, successfully resist the all-conquering arms of the Romans.

This period of the history of Hatra is succeeded by another interval of impenetrable obscurity. No sculpture nor monuments of any kind indicate the existence of a Christian community within its walls, which is the more remarkable, as Nisibin became the seat of a patriarch, and Al Hadhr was in the centre of a newly-converted and eminently Christian people; but a single inscription exists to inform us that in the year 1190 (586 of the Hejira), one of the ata-beys of Mosul, undeterred by the colossal images which infringe the laws of Mohammed, attempted to restore the fallen grandeur of this ancient city. There are, however, no Saracenic monuments at Al Hadhr, and the ata-beys appear to have held the place by a brief and unstable tenure.

It only remains to be remarked, respecting the name of Al Hadhr, that it appears to be derived, as well as the Latin name Hatra or Atra, from the Chaldean word Hutra or Hatra, signifying a sceptre, and, figuratively, the seat of government. Al Hadhr has, however, a distinct Arabic meaning; the word being particularly used to designate the dwellers in towns, in opposition to the Bedwins or roving tribes.

The river Tharthar, which gives life and verdure to the prairies of Eastern Mesopotamia, has its origin from sources in the hills of Sinjar. Its waters are

brackish, but not unpleasant at some seasons of the year, and it is known to lose itself in the salt lake, called Al Milh. According to Abu-l-Feda there was formerly an artificial communication existing between the Khabur and the Tigris, by which the country was well supplied with water for irrigation as well as for drink.

April 23*rd*. We left Al Hadhr in a drizzling rain, which continued more or less during the day. The sheikh guided us to a ford of the Tharthar, a little above the ruins of an ancient bridge; from whence, continuing our route in a direction from north to east, we struck across the grassy plains towards Mosul. The sharp eye of the Arab distinguished Bedwins on the extreme verge of the horizon, when almost undiscernible by an unpractised observer. One and a half hour's journey brought us to Wadi-l Ahmar or Hamra (the Red Valley), where the red sandstones beneath the gypsum are denuded, but we found only stagnant pools of bitter water. At mid-day we stopped to give the horses a feed. We passed by a low range of limestone hills, forming the extreme westerly prolongation of the Tel Nejm.

Two hours from this, always travelling at a rate of about five miles an hour, we came to the Wadi-l Kasab, the plain around which was covered far and near with the tents of agricultural Arabs, who as a reward for their industry, in a country where the administration is so powerless, have to pay tribute at once to the Sultan and to the Shammar Arabs. These tribes were the Khayaliyin (the Deceivers); the Jubur (the Restorers); and Haddidiyin ([the men] of Iron).

Passing this plain we entered upon the Jubailah

hills, in a valley of which, called Al Adhbah (the Fresh Waters), we found encamped the Juhaish, previously noticed, the Duleim, and the Naaim (the Benevolent), —agricultural tribes.

Night overtook us soon after entering upon the hills; being clouded, we could neither see the compass nor the stars, and soon lost our way, wandering about up rocks and down into valleys till we heard the barking of dogs. While following the direction of these sounds, we stumbled upon a pathway, and keeping carefully to it, we reached the brook and ruins of Khidhr Ilyas, from whence the road to Mosul was familiar to me. We arrived at the gates of the town, after a journey of about sixty English miles, a little before midnight, but could not prevail upon the kapuji (door-keeper) to open them, so we were obliged to loiter in our wet clothes under a deserted vault till the break of day.

The geographical botany of the great tracts which we travelled over on this excursion can be described in a few words. There are scarcely any spots that are actually destitute of all vegetation. The most naked have a few lichens, among which are prominent a gray Lecidea with black raised apothecia or fructification; next to this in frequency is a pink-coloured Cetraria; on the extreme verge of these grow a few pseudo-lichens, more particularly Verrucaria maura and V. epigea. Oat grass is by far the most abundant of the gramineous plants. This single species covers whole uplands of miles in extent, to the exclusion of everything except a few flowering plants, which at this season of the year were the Ranunculus Asiaticus, and certain species of Hieracium and Crepis. The beautiful Chrysanthema

and Gnaphalia, belonging to the same family, which also, with a few Centaureæ, adorn the wildernesses in summer, had not yet come into bloom. Other grasses were also met with, among which Hordeum pratense and a delicately-panicled Poa advanced upon the most sandy spots.

In the drier parts of the plains, grasses became more rare and lichens more common, but these tracts were clothed with a more prominent vegetation of under-shrubs of wormwood; among which the most common species were Artemisia fragrans and A. absinthium. In these unfavoured spots there were few flowering plants, and they were mostly gathered round the vast ants' nests, or had sprung up where cattle had been pasturing, or the Bedwins had bivouacked. Among the social plants certain vagabond species were met with here and there, especially where there was a pathway. Such were the gay Aster pulchellus, Allium roseum (everywhere), Papaver dubium, Campanula glomerata, and Gentiana campestris, common everywhere; Romeria hybrida, Mathiola varia, Matricaria chamomilla, and Anthemis nobilis, and two species of Erodium, on the more fertile spots. The family of the Leguminosæ was also represented by the genera Cytisus and Vicia, and that of Caryophylleæ by a few species of Saponaria and Silene.

On passing the Wadi-l Kasab and coming into the country of cultivating tribes, new species, unknown in the wilderness, immediately make their appearance, even on plains in other respects of similiar characters; among these especially Trollius Asiaticus and a yellow variety of Ranunculus Asiaticus, but rare, Adonis flava, Orni-

Chaldeans, and we only waited for two things to start: one of which was the melting of the snow, so as to allow of our passage over the high mountains; the other, the arrival of the instruments, which I had received notice were on their way from the Royal Geographical Society.

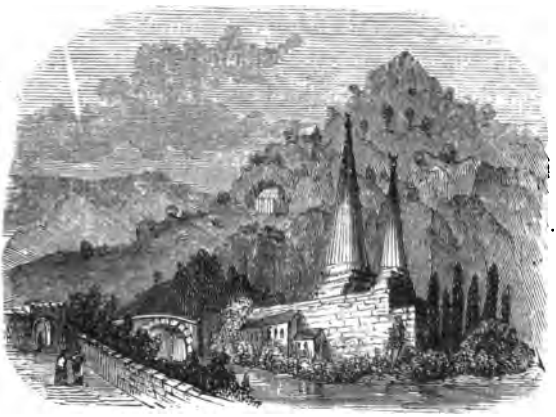
Early in May, a Chaldean arrived at Mosul, from Urimiyeh, with a message from Dr. Grant; he had traversed the mountains, as he related, with considerable difficulty, by the lower pass of Rowandiz, but he stated that the passes might reasonably be expected to be opened in a few weeks more.

About this time Mohammed Pasha of Mosul, who was determined upon an offensive campaign in Kurdistan, during which he was to overthrow those abominable infidels of the mountains, had collected his troops in tents, on the left bank of the river and in front of Nineveh, waiting only till the melting of the snow on the lower or outer ranges of Jebel Gharah should permit of the passage of artillery, to take his departure.

The movement of this small force took place on Sunday, May 10th, and on the 25th, the Pasha started himself, accompanied by a small guard, and thus it became a matter of absolute necessity to linger no longer for the instruments, unless we wished to place ourselves between two armies, but to start for Amadiyeh before the Osmanli troops should arrive there.

There was some risk to run in acting in this manner. We must cross the mountains by a different road to that of the Turks, and then throw ourselves into the hands of people invaded from the very quarter by which we came to them, and who, to say the least, would look upon us with suspicion, and might treat us worse; but to go in

CHAPTER XXXVI.



Izedi Temple of Sheikh Adi.

Start for Kurdistan. Plain of Mud. Plants and animals. Sheikh Adi, Temple of the Izedis. Origin of the name Izedi. Worship of the Devil. Tendency to Christianity. A remnant of the lost Tribes. Izedi Sepulchres. Enter the Mountains. Bivouac by a Spring. Valonia and Galls. Vale of Amadiyeh.

Soon after our return to Mosul, Messrs. Layard and Mitford continued their journey by floating down the river to Baghdad. A short time afterwards we were visited by three French travellers, Messrs. Texier and the Comtes de la Bourdonnaye and de Guiche; these gentlemen had kept chiefly along the high-way by Hamadan and Ispahan to Baghdad, but they had been shamefully detained by the Prince of Kirmanshah, and were without barometer, having broken their sixth and last on the road. Mr. Rassam and myself now began to make our preparations for entering the country of the

The plain of Nav Kur, except when cultivated, is almost entirely overgrown with species of Glycyrrhiza and Artemisia, and certain social umbelliferous plants. Already at Ain Siffin a slight change in vegetation is perceptible. The common thorn makes its appearance, and the rivulets are adorned with the bright pink blossoms of oleander, and afford water-cresses, a luxury abundant throughout Kurdistan, though unknown at Mosul. On entering the hills the remarkable increase of animal and insect life also attracts attention: large snakes of an ash-gray colour are very common, and we sometimes observed them engaged in capturing the beautiful lizards of the country: coleopterous insects, of brilliant colours, basked on the flowering plants; and there occurred, on a species of Euphorbia, a yellow caterpillar with bright scarlet spots, and which attained from three to four inches in length, with a proportionate bulk of body.

Two hours' journey over the outlying hills brought us to a more lofty range, which we crossed by a narrow glen, watered by a tributary to the Khazir, and abounding in a varied vegetation, more especially of shrubs. About two miles and a half up this ravine, the valley widened, and gave off two other lateral and parallel valleys; that to the south contained the village of Magheirah, while to the right was the northern vale, more narrow and deeply clad with wood; and out of a dense and beautiful grove at the head of this rose the conical spires of the temple or tomb of Sheikh Adi, at once a secluded and beautiful site.

Our party consisted of, besides Mr. Rassam and myself, a Chaldean gall merchant, by name Davud, a native of

Amadiyeh and an acquaintance of Mr. Rassam's, who was to act as interpreter for us with the mountaineer Chaldeans; our Greek servant who had accompanied us from Constantinople, and was at once an active, faithful, and courageous attendant; and we had two Kurd muleteers, who had let their mules for the whole of the journey. Haji Ali had remained at Mosul in charge of our horses, which could not tread the mountain roads of Kurdistan.

Having chosen a pleasant place for our night's bivouac by the side of a spring, and near the village of Kathandiyeh in the central valley, Mr. Rassam and myself, accompanied by one of the muleteers, turned up the valley of Sheikh Adi, which is commanded by a conical summit of the same name. We scarcely expected to overcome so far the religious scruples of so severe and so mysterious a sect as the Izedis, as to be allowed to penetrate into their sanctuary; but after taking a rapid sketch of the building, which stands at the base of a perpendicular cliff, and has two conical spires, one larger than the other, pointed, and supporting copper balls and crescents, we continued our way, and were met by the guardian of the place, who, with some slight expressions of distrust, ushered us to a gateway, which led into a vaulted stone passage, through the centre of which ran a stream of cool water. This passage was about forty paces long, and led into an outer court, overshadowed by large mulberry-trees, well paved with flags, and having large cisterns of clear water, besides separate bathing-rooms for the ablutions previous to prayer. Tempted by the refreshing appearance of the water, as well as from policy, without speaking a syllable foreign to the ears of

those present, we washed ourselves, and taking off our shoes, were admitted into a second and larger court-yard, with arched recesses along the sides, and the temple at the bottom. This spot was as clear, cool, and inviting as the first yard; and we could not help thinking what a delightful summer residence Sheikh Adi would make. Descending a flight of steps we now entered into the building itself. It was a great vaulted apartment, like an ordinary mesjid. On an elevated terrace within it, and screened by green curtains, was the coffin said to contain the remains of Sheikh Adi; round this were spots where fires of bitumen and naphtha are made at the time of the annual festival. Beyond this hall is an inner one, to which access was refused us. I, however, opened the door, and saw an apartment lower than the chief one, and containing only a few planks and other lumber,—a place most decidedly neither of sanctity nor of mystery.

We now asked the Izedis present concerning the peacock, of which they at once declared their ignorance. The question was put to them publicly, and so abruptly, that no opportunity was given to prepare an evasive answer. I carefully watched the expression of their countenances, and saw nothing that indicated deceit; on the contrary, the expression was that of surprise at the inquiry; and I am strongly inclined to think that the history of the Melik Taus, or king peacock, as related by Father Maurizio Garzoni, M. Rousseau, Buckingham, and more modern travellers, as Mr. Forbes, is a calumny invented by the Christians of these countries. I venture this assertion, however, with diffidence; for it is curious that a Christian, residing at

Kathandiyah, in the neighbourhood of the place, still persisted in the truth of this tradition. The Kurd muleteer remarked to me, that I had myself found it to be a falsehood.

The images of David and Solomon have no more existence than the peacock; and I need not add, that the account of their assembling on the eve of the festival held on the tenth day of the moon, in the month of August, and of abominations then perpetrated, has every appearance of being a base calumny, assailing human nature in general, while aimed against the poor Izedis in particular. I have seldom seen a more respectable, benign, good-looking mollah than the one who superintends the temple of Sheikh Adi. I inquired when the great bitumen fires, of which I saw the traces, were lighted. "On the night of the festival," was the answer. On this occasion the broad blaze of numerous fires of mineral pitch light up a scene which the imagination of the ignorant and wilful Easterns has filled with horrors. My informant, however, whatever might be his doctrines, had the look of one habituated to a peaceful, meditative, and pious life, and most certainly not of the leader of vicious and licentious orgies.

The only peculiarities that I observed at Sheikh Adi to distinguish it from any other mesjid were, besides the bitumen fires, some sculptures at the door, representing a large snake, painted black, and probably emblematic of Satan, the evil spirit, whom they propitiate rather than worship. There was also an ill-formed quadruped, it is impossible to say whether a dog, a horse, or a lion; and a hatchet.

The name of this remarkable sect of Kurds, who have not a little puzzled Oriental travellers, appears to be derived from Ized Ferfer, one of the attendants, according to the Parsis, upon the evil spirit, and the emblem of this spirit may be recognised in the sculptured idol, accompanying the serpent on the gateway of their chief temple. Major Rawlinson notices a nearly similar name, as being formerly in use, from Theophanes, where, in a letter of Heraclius to the senate, he mentions a position in Adiabene called Iesdem, and which Major Rawlinson considers very properly as a settlement of Izedis.

The Mohammedans, who are very hostile to these tribes, designate them as Yezidis, and say, they were so named from Yezid, the second of the Ommiade khalifs, thus making them a sect of the Shiites, or worshippers of Ali. They assert that they do not eat lettuces, because the Khalif was killed in a garden of those vegetables. The chief point, however, adduced against the Izedis is, as their name suggests, the worship of the Evil Spirit, who is variously called by them Ized, his most revered name, Karuben, Sheikh Maazen, the Exalted Chief, and by various other epithets corresponding to Lord of the Evening, Prince of Darkness, &c.; all words derogatory to the dignity of the spirit they carefully avoid, and will never call a river, for example, by its common name Shat, because the same word occurs in Sheitan, a devil.

The proof of the direct worship of the Spirit of Evil has been mainly founded upon the fact, that no traces have been perceived of the worship of Yezdan or Ormusd, the good principle, in opposition to Ahriman, or the evil principle. This is considering the philosophy

of their doctrines to be the same as those of the ancient Magi and of the Manicheans; but this at best is but a negative argument. Whatever may have been propagated among these people of the ancient doctrines of the Manicheans, (and Dr. Grant remarks, that not only do they exist in the region where Manes first laboured and propagated his tenets with the greatest success, but also the name of their reputed founder or most revered teacher Adi, or Adde, whose temple we have just described, coincides with that of an active disciple of Manes,) appears now to be corrupted by gross superstitions; and the deference paid to the Evil Spirit, by not speaking of him disrespectfully, is only another negative proof of positive worship which has resulted from a corrupted doctrine, and has been converted by the ignorance of the people alone into whatever may exist of direct worship, by the same process that in the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Armenian churches, the tolerance of pictures has become in the hands of the uneducated a real idol worship. Some of them go so far as to say, that Satan is a fallen angel, with whom God was angry, but he will at some future day be restored to favour. They all believe in one God. They have also a remnant of Sabæanism, and bow in adoration before the rising sun, and kiss his first rays when they strike on a wall or other object near them; and they will not blow out a candle with their breath, or spit in the fire, lest they should defile the sacred element. The number of peculiarities related of them by Mohammedans and Christians is very great, but it is so difficult to discriminate the true from the false, that they are not worth narrating. The Izedis of Adiabene, who, after

Sinjar, are the most numerous, call the district Desen, a corruption of Iesdem, and themselves Deseni.

The next interesting consideration connected with this singular tribe is the high regard which they are universally acknowledged to entertain towards the Christian religion. Dr. Grant even says, that, in some sense, at least, they believe in Christ as a Saviour*. They practise the rite of baptism, make the sign of the cross, so emblematical of Christianity in the East, put off their shoes and kiss the threshold when they enter a Christian church, and it is said they often speak of wine as the blood of Christ, hold the cup with both hands, after the sacramental manner of the East, when drinking it, and if a drop chance to fall on the ground, they lick it up with religious care.

The third and equally remarkable page in the history of this singular tribe, is their possible Jewish origin, a theory upon which Major Rawlinson, and after him, Dr. Grant, have brought an almost unanswerable mass of facts and arguments to bear. It is to be regretted, however, that the latter gentleman's isolated position with the mission at Urimiyeh, placed difficulties in the way of his being intimate with modern researches in the comparative and historical geography of biblical lands, more especially in the positioning of Resen, and of Halah or Calah.

Circumcision and the passover, or a sacrificial festival allied to the passover in time and circumstance, are among the first points that tend to identify the Izedis

* The unfortunate Dr. Forbes, who visited the Izedis in Sinjar, states, that they adore the sun as symbolical of Jesus Christ.

with the Jews. To this has been added the still more direct testimony of ancient Syrian authors: such is the work consulted by Dr. Grant, in the possession of Mar Shimon, a book written A.D. 1253, and containing the statement that the Izedis are of Hebrew descent.

I have been much among the Izedis in various parts of the mountains and plains, and have found them to be possessed of many good points, among which I may enumerate candour, integrity, religious toleration, courage, industry, cleanliness, domestic affection, civility, and manly pride. They have also many bad points, partly, however, accessory to their position, a love of war and rebellion, fierceness towards strangers, and a proneness to plunder or predatory exploits, but not to petty larcenies. Kinneir says they are possessed of noble and generous principles; Rich calls them lively, brave, hospitable, and good-humoured; and Dr. Grant speaks of them as "friendly towards the professors of Christianity."

As a race of men they are mostly tall, slim, and well made, their bones large and features spare, but marked with much earnestness and decision. The brows advance over the eye, the forehead is high but retreating, the nose prominent, the lips moderate.

Their largest villages in Desen, or Daseni, are Bah Ashikah (Baasheka of Dr. Grant), at foot of Jebel Maklub; Bah Idri, at foot of Rabban Hormus; Kelek, on Great Zab; Hatarah, a poor village, which Dr. Grant identified with the Calah and Halah of Scriptures; Sulub, Bah Jibah, Kar Kellan, and many others. They form a considerable population in the Sinjar, and still more so throughout the mountains of Kurdistan and

Taurus, with their offsets, over which countries they are widely dispersed. The villages of Izedis are generally distinguished by their tombs, which are built in the form of a fluted cone or pyramid, standing upon a quadrangular base, but often a circular pediment, and rising to the height of from ten to thirty feet. This form, as well as other things, has been said to have been adopted to propitiate the devil, but it appears rather to be a Sabæan relic, and of great antiquity, just as the Obelisk was supposed to have sprung from the representation of a flame of fire. I have given in another place in the present work a representation of one of these characteristic tombs.

To return to our narrative: the village of Sheikh Adi stands on the top of a cliff, above the prettily-situated temple. After visiting the temple, we repaired beneath the mulberry trees, which one of the kind villagers ascended, and shook the branches, tumbling down enough fruit to feast twenty persons. We quitted this pleasing site, which I cannot think, as Dr. Grant has related, no doubt from the statements of some Chaldeans, was ever a Christian church or convent. The head of the Izedis, called Sheikh An, now resides at Bah Idri.

June 9th. A gentle ascent led us to the crest of the Sheikh Adi range, where was a burial-ground of the Kurds, as usual, in a well-chosen and picturesque situation. The sanctity of these inclosures, mostly situate on lofty and commanding positions, preserves the trees which are planted, or that spring up naturally, from destruction, and they thus afford the best specimens of the capabilities of the soil and climate for forest growth.

Numerous vineyards occupied the hill-sides, and by these we descended into the small vale of Berbet, out of which ourselves and the rivulets found their way by a narrow and precipitous ravine, with a bad road, and which led us to the expanded and fertile valley of the Ghomar Su, the head waters of the Khazir, or Bumadus. This valley is rich in vegetation and cultivation, and contains many villages. We crossed it in a diagonal direction, and in about an hour and a half reached a village at the foot of the range of hills which bounds the valley to the north. Here we first observed the horns of the chamois of Kurdistan, about two feet and a half in length, of a dark black colour, and curved inwards, with knots on the convex part.

The ascent of these hills brought us into the region of the valonia oak, where the trees, however, were of spare growth. The ascent occupied one hour and a half, when we were agreeably surprised to find the range breaking suddenly off in a steep precipice, beneath which, at a depth of 800 feet, was a narrow vale, with many villages and gardens, and over which rose a huge mass of alternating limestones and sandstones, to the height of about 2000 feet, called the Cha Zirwar. We were obliged by this character of the country to alter our course, and keep up the side of the precipice, till, passing over some broken hills clad with forests of oak, we found ourselves in the valley of Cheloki, bounded by narrow ranges of hills, rising so steeply, and terminating in so sharp an edge, as to look almost like walls of art.

Immediately north of this range, which is designated as the Jebel Hair, is the lofty alpine chain of Jebel

Gharah in Arabic, Tura Gharah in Syriac and Chaldee, Cha Garah in Kurd, (Mount Gharah,) which bounds the great vale of Amadiyeh to the south. The central crest of this chain presents at times a single sharp rocky crest, but at others a craggy valley, from half a mile to a mile in width, is left between opposing walls of rock.

At the easterly foot of this chain, and near the village of Zindar, we found some copious springs, furnishing a tributary to the Khazir; and near this we obtained a few organic remains, illustrative of the age of the sedimentary rocks of the Tura Gharah. Our road was carried over this chain in a tortuous manner, chiefly through wooded and picturesque glens. The height of the summit level above the sea was, by boiling-point thermometer, 2187 feet: the culminating points may be judged to rise to 4800 feet. There was still a good deal of snow in the ravines and dark recesses of these strangely constituted mountains.

After passing the crest we descended by a dense forest, and the dusk of evening overtook us on a little open space in the wood, where the muleteers said there was a spring, but which, as it was dark, we had some difficulty in finding; we then sat down to a frugal repast of bread and cheese, moistened, however, by delightfully cool water; after which, lying down in our cloaks, and resigning ourselves to an all-kind Providence, we were soon asleep. The spring, with a temperature of 52° Fahrenheit, was at an altitude of 3620 feet above the level of the sea.

June 10*th*. We had nothing but a gently undulating and well-wooded country from our station of last

night to the valley of Amadiyeh, the bottom of which was deeply intersected by watercourses.

The head waters of the Gharah river, a tributary to the Great Zab, spring from a slight swelling in the soil of the valley, about twelve miles west of Amadiyeh, while from the opposite side of the same eminence the waters flow to the Khabur, the Habor of the Chaldeans. The Gharah was, when we joined it, a mere brook that would scarcely wet the feet, but it had become, before reaching Amadiyeh, a river fifteen yards in width, being supplied by mountain torrents that flow from every gap, and descend from every snow patch in the Tura Gharah and the Tura Matineh, the range of mountains which bounds the vale of Amadiyeh to the north.

The valley of Amadiyeh, although containing many villages, belonging partly to Kurds of the Bahdinan tribe and partly to Chaldeans, is but sparingly cultivated, being mostly occupied by forests of valonia oak, which more especially stretch along the eastern foot of the Tura Gharah from hence to Rowandiz, a distance of three days' journey, and this is the great district for gathering galls and valonia; for in our travels further eastward we scarcely met with any more groves, still less with forests of oak.

Our Chaldean interpreter Davud, having been a long time a gall merchant, was enabled to give me much information regarding the gathering of the galls and valonia, which I afterwards found corroborated by inquiries instituted at Amadiyeh and at Rowandiz, the two principal markets for exportation from the interior of the mountains.

It appears that the perianth of the Quercus valonia

is alone gathered for the market, but the trees pointed out to me as furnishing galls, were Q. infectoria, Q. pedunculata, and Q. cerris. The gall apple, which is known to be the product of a species of cynips, is only gathered from stalks or stems; that on the leaves being pulverulent and useless. The zone of oak in these mountains extends from an elevation of 1500 to 2500 feet above the level of the sea; above and below this the trees become mere shrubs.

The valley of Amadiyeh is uneven, about five or six miles in width, and extends from the head of the waters down to the valley of the Great Zab, a distance of about twenty miles. It is, where not wooded, rich and fertile, producing abundant grapes that are sold as dried raisins in Persia and Mesopotamia, and in great esteem. The district is also fertile in grain and wheat, but it is cursed by the evils of an insecure and uncertain government.

The town, or rather fort of Amadiyeh, stands apart in this great valley, built on a most remarkable and an extensive isolated hill with a flat top like a platform, a rude precipice all round formed by cliffs from forty to eighty feet in height, and then descending by steep and stony acclivities for several hundred feet down to the level of the valley below.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Fortress of Amadiyeh.

Fortress of Amadiyeh. Present Condition. Chaldeans. The Assyrian Ecbatana. Hostility of Chaldeans and Mohammedans. Pass of Geli Muzukah. District of Berrawi. Chaldean Bishop. Respect shown to the Clergy. Domestic Scene. Ministration of the Lord's Supper. Chaldean Churches. Appearance of the People. Church Questions. Villages and Population.

THE extent of the isolated platform on which Amadiyeh is built, and which is somewhat oval in shape, is three-fourths of a mile in length and half a mile in width. The town itself stands on the northern portion of the terrace, the remainder being occupied by graves, sacred groves, and a square open castle with circular towers at the angles, built by the late Bey of Rowandiz, when he sacked this place. The rock terrace is also defended at various points by guard-houses, towers, and irregularly-constructed bastions, with occasional curtains, which

are not, however, carried round the rock. There are two gates to the town, one to the north-west, the other to the east.

It took us nearly an hour to ascend from the base of the hill to the gate, the road being tortuous and steep. A little before entering the gateway we observed to the left a colossal figure sculptured in bas-relief on a kind of tablet in the rock; although much mutilated, I was not long in recognising the large globe ornament, the bag-wig, and streamers, which characterize the sculptures of Shapur (Sapor I.) at Persepolis, and Shapur in Farsistan, and which left no doubt in my mind that this statue was meant to represent the same Asiatic conqueror. The guard-house under the gate was crowded with soldiers, who, however, offered us no interruption, and we had not to seek for quarters, as Davud had a friend here whose house he declared was at our service.

We were accordingly soon seated in a kind of covered way, opening with folding-doors upon the street, and were visited by many of the inhabitants, among whom was the Chaldean priest, Kasha or Kashiya (Priest) Mandu, a most simple-hearted interesting person, the same who had related to Dr. Grant that his own father was bastinadoed to compel him to become a Roman Catholic! but without explaining the reason, which is, because the Roman Catholics acknowledge the supremacy of the Sultan and pay tribute, while the Chaldeans only acknowledge the authority of their own patriarch.

As it was our intention to advance as soon as possible into the Tiyari country the modes of proceeding were here made the subject of discussion. From the approach of the army of Mohammed Pasha the passes were now

occupied by armed mountaineers, who would not put much faith, at such a moment, in the avowed purpose of our journey, a visit of friendship to themselves; so it was rssolved to search for a Chaldean, whose poverty and rags would protect him through the pass while he went to the Bishop of Berrawi to announce our coming and request a free passage. The delay, thus entailed, allowed me plenty of time to examine the present condition and antiquities of the remarkable Kurdish fortress of Amadiyeh, which is the seat of the noblest of the reigning families in Kurdistan*, and undoubtedly a site of very great antiquity.

The present town is in a most ruinous condition, of above 1000 houses only about 200 are erect, all the rest fallen down or overthrown. Only one-fourth of the public market is now made use of, the remainder is torn down or dilapidated, and the stalls are now receptacles for filth and rubbish. Above these perishing materials there rises a serai, the residence of the bey, the lower part built of stone, the upper of mud; near it is a beautiful model of a pillar, a detached menareh, the only one in the place, and also the only existing mesjid.

At present the chief population of Amadiyeh are Jews, who have seventy houses here and three syna-

* The Prince of Bahdinan, who rules at Amadiyeh, is looked upon as something saintly, deriving his origin from the Khalifs. He also affects the state of the latter Abassides. He always sits alone; a servant brings in his dinner, and then leaves him till he has finished it; no person dare use the same vessel or pipe as is used by the Prince. Rich says his person is so sacred, that, in the fiercest battle among the tribes, their arms would fall from their hands if he approached them.

gogues. These people have among themselves a tradition that their ancestors have dwelt here from a period shortly subsequent to the Captivity. The Mohammedans have sixty houses, the Chaldeans have fifteen, and the Romish Chaldeans five. There are also five houses of Armenians, who pursue their usual avocations as jewellers, armourers, &c. There was a garrison of nearly 200 irregulars, chiefly Arnauts and Greeks of Rumelia.

The Chaldean community of Amadiyeh, which remains stedfast to the ancient faith, has only one priest, our friend Kasha Mandu, the duties of whose post extend over a district of upwards of forty square miles, which can be well supposed to derive little advantage from a single spiritual instructor. Hence the progress of the Roman Catholic faith among the Chaldeans of Bahdinan, which has already gained over the villages around Zakho, long since left without any teachers of the faith of their forefathers.

The lineal descendant of the Patriarch Elias of Al Kosh was appointed about nine years ago as Bishop of Amadiyeh by the present Patriarch, Mar Shimon, but after living at Amadiyeh only one year, out of jealousy to the Patriarch, he seceded from the Chaldean, and became a convert to the Roman Catholic Church. His character has since become suspected among the Roman Catholics, who have reduced him to the lower rank of priesthood; and he is strictly watched at Mosul, as fears are entertained of his desire to return to the Chaldean church. He would not, however, be received in the mountains, where he is equally despised for his tergiversation both by the laity and the clergy. According to Dr. Grant, in 1834 he went to Urimiyeh, and told

the Chaldeans of that district that he had returned to the ancient faith of his fathers, and that he would bring over all the Chaldeans to the same faith if they would acknowledge him as their spiritual head.

Although the priest of Amadiyah, Kasha Mandu, received holy orders from Ishiyah, Chaldean bishop of Berrawi, residing at Duri, he and his flock pay their tithes and contributions to Mar Yusuf, Roman Catholic bishop of Amadiyeh, now residing at Al Kosh. This is in virtue of an arrangement made by the Roman Catholic church with the Osmanli government, who would be less secure of their part of the revenue if it were paid to the Bishop of Berrawi. Two other districts, that of Dirakan and that of Nurwar, containing many villages of Chaldeans, are similarly circumstanced; each of the above-mentioned districts has three priests.

The injustice and severity of this bondage was much insisted upon by the worthy Kasha Mandu in various conversations which we held with him; for so enthusiastic did he become in the cause of a friendly co-operation and kindly assistance proffered by a country from without, but resembling them in their faith and leading doctrines, that he attached himself to us during the whole of the journey. He complained bitterly of the oppression of the Roman Catholics, and of the inability of the Chaldeans to educate their children, or to appoint priests for the villages, from the extent of exaction and the opposition offered to all amelioration. Yet the pittance would be very small indeed which would bring all these desiderata within their reach, and at the same time prevent the further, almost daily, secession of a people totally neglected by their own church and oppressed by another.

The only antiquities which we found at Amadiyeh were the foundations of a temple hewn out of the solid rock on the surface of the terrace. It is twenty yards wide and thirty long, and about eight to ten feet deep. At the east end is a cut in the rock for an altar, and to the south, a sepulchral cave, divided into three compartments; in the interior are three rows of pillars, shaped like obelisks, only truncated at the summits: this has all the appearance of an ancient Persian fire temple, and is known as such to the inhabitants.

These vestiges of a Persian temple situate in one of the most prominent positions on the rock-terrace, and belonging, as would appear from the character of the statue sculptured at the portal of the city, to the early monarchs of the Sassanian dynasty, would indicate that one of the sacred fires or pyrea of the Magians existed at this place; and this, combined with the strong position of the fort, favours the supposition of its being the Assyrian Ecbatana of Ammianus. Whatever may have been the original meaning of Akbatana, or Ecbatana, which, according to Major Rawlinson, signifies a treasure-city, it is certain that that name was very generally applied; hence the great number of the Ecbatanas of antiquity. The city of this name noticed by Plutarch in his Life of Alexander, was in Babylonia, and not in Assyria, and may be easily recognised, as the Macedonian hero went there next after the battle of Arbela. He was there particularly struck with a gulf of fire, which streamed forth continually as from an inexhaustible source. He also admired a flood of naphtha not far from the gulf. This description applies solely to the Abu Jeghar, near Kerkuk, at which latter place is a

castle-bearing mound of great antiquity, resembling that of Arbela, a city of the same date. It is not surprising that the Magians should have made these natural fountains of fire the object of a peculiar worship. Major Rawlinson quotes the *Asiatic Researches*, to show that so great was the veneration in which these fountains were held, that they were visited by devotees from India. But save the fires, there are no remains of antiquity at the place nearer than Kerkuk, for I have carefully examined the site and circumstances connected with these natural fires*. The site of the great Median Ecbatana has been satisfactorily determined by Major Rawlinson. But Stephanus of Byzantium mentions a Syrian Ecbatana; and we have the authority of Pliny and Hesychius that this was situate upon Mount Carmel. There was also a Persian Ecbatana noticed by Pliny. The Arsacian Ecbatana, which appears to have been identical with the Ragau of the Book of Tobit and the Rhages of the historians of Alexander, is represented, according to Major Rawlinson, by the ruins of Kaleh Erig, near Veramin. If it can be shown, then, that there were six Ecbatanas, that is, two Median, one Persian, one Syrian, one Babylonian, and one Arsacian, I can scarcely see the grounds for scepticism as to the existence of an Assyrian Ecbatana. Mr. Rich found that Amadiyeh was still known by the name of Ekbadan†; and although my inquiries on this subject were not

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* *Researches in Assyria, &c.*, p. 242, *et seq.*

† This was derived from information, as Mr. Rich did not visit the Kurdish fortress.—*Narrative of a Residence in Kurdistan, &c.*, vol. i., p. 153.

attended with success, Mr. Rich was far too careful a registrar of facts to be easily misled, and too well acquainted with the Asiatic character to have founded his statement upon a leading question, such as "Do you call this place Ekbadan?" when, if the affirmative is supposed to be sought for, it will always be given.

Our questions led to the following results: first, that the Kermanji, or Kurds, know the town universally by the name of Amedi (the Town of the Medes), and that Amadiyeh is a corruption of this name by the Arabs and Turks, not known in the mountains: they in the same way change the name of the Berrawi into Berrawiyah; that of Tobi into Tobiyah; and so on with many other Kurdish and Chaldean tribes. Secondly, that they have a tradition that the town, notwithstanding its Median conquerors and Magian worship, was founded by the apocryphal prophet Tobias.

Not far from Amadiyeh is a small Chaldean monastery, untenanted and without doors. The town itself does not appear to have been a place much frequented by pious Mohammedans, as there are only two ziyarets in the mezar (burial-ground). Amadiyeh stands in north latitude 36° 47′ 29″, as derived from an observation of the moon's meridian height, and at an elevation by boiling-point thermometer of 4265 feet.

The same night that we arrived at Amadiyeh, there came a report that the Chaldeans had made a descent upon a Mohammedan village, peopled by the descendants of an Amir Sayyid, or chief descended from the Prophet, and it was stated that they slaughtered nearly every one, men, women, and children, in the village, but as at this moment there was great anxiety to get up a party feeling

against the Chaldeans, the more I have thought of this narrated butchery, although insisted upon by all around, who convinced Mr. Rassam of its reality, it was so opposed to what I myself saw of the Chaldeans that I have lost all belief in it.

At the same time Mohammed Pasha, of Mosul, was, with his detachment, encamped at a short distance from Amadiyeh, the Kurdish chieftain of which had taken refuge in Kumri Kalah, in the Berrawi country. This day he came up and pitched his tents within a mile of the town; and greatly did the officers rejoice as they spoke of what they deemed certain—the immediate subjection of the Chaldean mountaineers. In the evening the rocks were lined with soldiers firing salutes, which were answered by the guns from the camp; but we went into the heart of the country, and returned from thence, while the Osmanli Pasha was engaged in making overtures to the chiefs, without the least chance of success; and when we returned to Mosul, he had retired without being able to effect anything beyond the pacification of a part of his own province, by the occupation of Akra and the expulsion of the Kurd Prince of Amadiyeh.

The sand-fly, frequently alluded to by Mr. Rich, as a plague almost peculiar to Kurdistan,—it certainly does not exist in Mosul,—was such a serious torment that it was quite impossible to sleep for the three nights that we were detained here. They were worse than fleas, and they penetrated through everything.

June 13*th*. This morning our messenger arrived, and we started immediately, to avoid observation, by the gate which was opposite to that where the Turks were, and descended into the vale and gardens of Amadiyeh;

our party now increased in numbers by the presence of Priest Mandu, who had volunteered to go with us to the Patriarch, and our messenger also returned with us to lead the way.

We left the vale of Amadiyeh by a pass in the Matineh mountain, which is exceedingly beautiful. Near its foot a mountain-torrent, called Sulaf Chai, comes tumbling over the rocks, amid precipitous cliffs, variegated by a rich vegetation and long-pending stalactites, or a rough covering of travertino deposited by the waters; climbing and creeping plants swing in flowery festoons down the water's edge, petrified in their course, and their verdant foliage is rivalled in various tracery by the stalagmitic deposits. The torrent forms three successive falls, of from eighteen to twenty feet in height, alternately losing itself in caves of green foliage, or reappearing as a sheet of white foam. After about half a mile of open valley, the second part of the pass is attained. It is a narrow gorge in limestone rock, the first of the redoubted *Pylæ* of the Hakkari country, and is called Geli Muzukah. An ash-coloured snake, having bright yellow bands, waved itself occasionally up the smooth and perpendicular face of the rock; but its progress under such circumstances was very slow, and it might have been easily killed. The Asiatics generally appear to entertain a great prejudice against snakes, which they always destroy when possible, although the poor creatures are never the aggressors, and are so much to be admired for their great beauty of form and colour, and the elegance of their movements. The houses in Mosul abound with them, but, as is always the case with Nature's productions, they fulfil a beneficial pur-

pose. Ants swarm in these mud-hovels, and these are checked in their increase by the flat-toed lizard, which itself would become numerous as a plague, if it were not for the snakes, which also moderate the productive powers of the bat-tribe.

A little beyond the Geli Muzukah is an isolated rock, called Peri Balgah-si (the Honey-place of the Fairies), a belief in such things extending even to Kurdistan. When we got to the crest of the chain, we found ourselves amid patches of snow, at an elevation of 5840 feet, and below us the summer-quarters of the people of Amadiyeh, which they had not occupied this year on account of the war. It was a delightfully cool pasture, and possessed one mud-building, the palace of the prince. These spots, named Yaila by the Turks, are called by the Chaldeans Zoma, and by the Kurds, or in Kermanji, Zozan—the present one, was Zozan Nav-dashti.

From this point, the extensive district of Berrawi (Berwer of Dr. Grant) extended before us; in our neighbourhood was a long valley dotted with villages of industrious Christians, while at its head was a peculiar rounded mountain, rising above the village of Duri, the seat of the Bishop of Berrawi. Beyond were two distinct lofty and snow-clad chains of mountains: the one, Tur Devehli, extending from north-east to north-west; the other, Tura Shina, the extent of which was not well defined. To the west, the valley opened amidst mingled forests, rock and arable land, above which rose a group of rude peaks, one of which bore Kumri Kalah, the present asylum of the Kurdish chief of Bahdinan; beyond this appeared another snow-clad group of mountains.

The Tura Matineh separates the Kurdish district of Bahdinan from that of Buhtan, of which Berrawi is a sub-district to the north-west. I have estimated the Chaldean population of Bahdinan at 1920 souls; Dr. Grant averages them at from 2000 to 3000.

About an hour's descent brought us to the village of Hayis, near which were two or three smaller villages, all belonging to Chaldeans. The waters from this point flowed to the Khabur, along the valley of the tributaries to which, and in the heart of the Buhtan country, there is said to be a considerable Chaldean population, and which we found, indeed, afterwards, extending to the banks of the Tigris by the vale of the episcopate of Mar Yuhannah.

At the village of Hayis, we found Ishiyah, bishop of Berrawi, with his attendants, waiting for us; although an old man, he had walked from his residence at Duri, a distance of nine miles, to meet us. This first specimen of a chief dignitary of the Chaldean church was highly favourable. I had expected a bishop with a dagger and sword—perhaps, as it was time of war, with a coat-of-mail; but, instead of that, we saw an aged man, of spare habit, with much repose and dignity in his manners, and a very benevolent and intelligent aspect, his hair and beard nearly silver-white, his forehead ample and unclouded, and his countenance, from never eating meat, uncommonly clear and fair. Welcoming us in the most urbane manner, he held his hand to be kissed, a custom common in this country, and accompanied the ceremony by expressions of civility and regard. Dr. Grant describes the same bishop as a most patriarchal personage.

The bishop wished to walk back; but we offered him the use of a horse. I was not fatigued, and preferred walking; but he had never been accustomed to ride, and it was with some difficulty that we got him to mount a loaded mule, where he could sit safe between the bags. We then started, Kasha Mandu, and a poorly-dressed man carrying a hooked stick, walking ceremoniously before.

The happy moral influence of Christianity could not be more plainly manifested than in the change of manners immediately observable in the country we had now entered into, and which presented itself with the more force from its contrast with the sullen ferocity of the Mohammedans. The kind, cordial manners of the people, and the great respect paid to their clergy, were among the first fruits of that influence which showed themselves. Nothing could be more gratifying to us, after a prolonged residence among proud Mohammedans and servile Christians, than to observe on this, our little procession, the peasants running from the villages even a mile distant, and flocking to kiss the hand of the benevolent white-haired dignitary. This was done with the head bare, a practice unknown among the Christians of Turkey in Asia, and so great was the anxiety to perform this act of kindly reverence, that little children were held up in the arms of their fathers to partake in it. Kasha Mandu also came in for his share of congratulations and welcomings. Everywhere the same pleasing testimonies of respect, mingled with love, were exhibited.

An hour's journey brought us to a perpendicular precipice about 250 feet deep, at the bottom of which

rolled the Robar Elmei, a torrent which flows to the Zab. On the opposite side of the river was a conical hill, bearing a ruined castle, formerly very extensive: I could learn nothing concerning its history. It is called Kalah Beitannuri, and is said to belong to a tribe of Jews who reside at the foot of the hill in the village of Beitannuri (House of Fire), where they have a synagogue, and who lay claim to this place from remote antiquity.

Our road lay down the Robar Elmei, which we crossed on a wooden bridge, passing several Chaldean villages, and then up a tributary stream to the large village of Duri, where the people were waiting for evening prayer; but the bishop finding it late after performing his ablutions, renounced his intentions, and we walked from Duri about half a mile to a picturesque and wooded glen, wherein were a few hamlets, one of which was the bishop's residence, while up above, and surrounded by trees, appeared, at the foot of a cliff, the little white-washed church of Mar Kyomah, peeping through the trees, more like a hermitage than a temple. It is, however, an ancient structure, made by enlarging a natural cave by means of heavy stone walls in front of the precipitous rock. Within this church, which we visited the ensuing morning, it was dark as midnight.

We were received at the bishop's house upon the roof, the most agreeable place at this season of the year, and pleasantly overshadowed in the day-time by large mulberry trees. We joined in evening prayer, the bishop officiating. It was now that I first found out that the person whose clothes were all tattered and torn, whose aspect bespoke the greatest poverty, and who on

the journey had always marched before the bishop, carrying a stick with a certain degree of pomp, was no other than the bishop's chaplain. After prayers came meals; the bishop and ourselves eating first, then the ragged but worthy chaplain, the priest Mandu, Davud, and other chiefs of the group; and lastly, the servants went to work with a general scramble. In the evening two deacons joined the party; these wore daggers in their girdles, and belonged to the mountains. Three Kurdish soldiers came to levy provisions, and eyed us with mingled distrust and dislike; the bishop complained of this sadly, and said they were exposed to such visits daily. The Berrawi Chaldeans, indeed, occupy a most unfortunate position; not strong enough to assert their independence like their neighbours, the Tiyari Chaldeans, they are nominally under the Porte, to whom they look for protection, as the government to which they contribute, against the exactions of the Kurds; but this the Osmanlis are unable to give them, for Osmanli power only now and then extends to Amadiyeh, but such a thing as a government khawass is never seen in Berrawi. At night the roof of the house presented a happy scene of patriarchal simplicity—two peasants and their wives, two cradles and their noisy tenants, two deacons, the chaplain, ourselves, muleteers, servants, &c., were all picturesquely distributed over a place of about twelve yards by six.

Sunday, June 14th. At divine service this morning, before day-break, the sacrament was administered to all present, boys included: raisin-water supplied the place of wine. The cross on the door of the church, the cross on the altar, the Holy Scriptures, and the bishop's

hand, were alone kissed. The cross used by the Chaldeans is rather an emblem than a representation of the instrument of our redemption: its form is this, ✠. Such crosses are made in brass, or cut in stone on the churches, at the doorways, and often on a large stone at the entrance of a Christian village, and are kissed by the devout on going out or coming in: the Chaldeans generally make the sign of the cross, but Mar Shimon, when prayers were said at Julamerik, observed no such form.

Dr. Grant remarks, very justly, upon this subject: "I must confess that there is something affecting in this simple outward expression, as practised by the Nestorians, who mingle with it none of the image worship or the other corrupt observances of the Roman Catholic Church. May it not be that the abuse of such symbols by the votaries of the Roman see has carried us Protestants to the other extreme, when we utterly condemn the simple memento of the cross?" To how many other little points of church discipline might not this find an equally strong application!

The form and manner of administering the Holy Communion was very simple, and unlike that of other Oriental churches, who exhibit much ostentation of embroidered towels and napkins, &c. In the present case, the first preparation consisted in purification by incense, a deacon holding the chafing dish, while each in succession exposed his hands to the smoke. The bishop then took in his hands a copper vessel, which contained the consecrated bread, while the priest held another cup, used instead of a chalice to contain the consecrated wine; each person approached the bishop in succession, and received from him the bread, putting

his hands one upon another, lest any of the substance should fall upon the ground. After this he went to the priest and partook of the cup, then drawing back to make way for another, and putting his hand to his face, remained for a short time engaged in inward prayer and meditation.

The ecclesiastical dress is very simple; it consists of a large pair of trowsers, white shirt, and surplice made of white calico. They curiously quote the Old Testament in favour of the large trowsers.

In the morning we went, without the bishop, to visit the church of Duri. It presented to our examination, like almost all others, a simply-constructed vaulted building of stone, into which light was admitted by very small apertures in the upper part of the west or rear gable end. The altar was a simple table of stone, and behind it was a recess for the communion table, approached by a low door placed laterally. This portion of the church is held as sacred. Upon the altar, or near to it, were the whole complements of the church service, consisting of manuscript copies of the New Testament and Liturgy, a brass cross, a bell to ring, an incense chafing-dish, and two decent copper vessels for chalice and paten. It is to be observed, that generally the interior of the churches are lined with printed cottons, dresses, or other ornamental stuffs; but being time of war, these were taken down for fear of plunder.

The Chaldeans have a more marked dislike to images in their churches, than even some of the Protestants of Europe. There Protestants have still a few remaining in some churches, although they neither bow, nor kneel, nor pray before them, nor kiss them, nor light lamps,

nor offer incense before them; but the Chaldean has no pictures or images, and regards such in the light of a most superstitious idolatry.

There are no seats in the churches, and the men and women stand together. The females do not cover their faces, as those of other Christian churches of the East, nor are they in any way prevented having open communication with friends or with strangers.

The people were free yet respectful in their manners. Their curiosity was very great, and became sometimes rather trying on the road. Of arms especially they are very fond, and could never let ours alone, although percussion guns and pistols are dangerous things to play with; there was also no keeping their hands out of our travelling bags. The men wear their hair plaited in a single tress, which falls from the back of the head; this is surmounted by a conical cap of white felt, which makes them look uncommonly like the pictures given of the Chinese*. Their best travelling-shoes, or sandals, are made of chamois-skin, with a strong netting of string, but those for ordinary wear are made of raw hide or leather, and sometimes of hair, and little more than cover the sole of the foot, and require mending every journey, for which purpose each man carries a large needle in his breast.

We spent the evening with the bishop. We were in a grove of luxuriant growth and variegated foliage; golden orioles sang from the shades, and pigeons cooed

* White felt hats, many-coloured striped trowsers, generally like plaid, only not crossed, and sandals of hide, are the most characteristic parts of the dress of a Chaldee.

from the rocks above; the men sat round and patted us on the back with the familiarity of old acquaintance, and the women crowded to enter into the passing conversation. The bishop was much pleased when the proposition was made to him to open schools, and to effect some improvement in the education of the people; he looked upon all such assistance with sincere gratitude. "Indeed," he said, "we are worthy of the pity of those who can afford it, and I hope we shall also prove ourselves worthy of the friendly assistance of those who can bestow it upon us." A tear gathered in his eye as he talked of the years of oppression, and neglect, and oblivion, which had passed away, and as a new picture presented itself to his mind, of his peasants reading the Gospel, of children hurrying to school, of priests rising in the scale of humanity. He also asked many questions concerning the doctrine and government of the Church of England. Among the most interesting of these, were his inquiries as to whether the priests of England put the consecrated bread into the mouths of the people, or communicate them with bread only. Upon it being explained to him that our forms were here similar, he was much pleased. He said he had thought that there was no church in the world which communicated as the old churches did.

He asked concerning the penance of fasting. Davud, our Chaldean interpreter, was instructed to say, that fasting is enjoined in our Liturgies on many occasions, and is almost generally practised on certain holy festivals; is observed by some on other occasions also, but disregarded by others. The bishop said, "We attach importance to the act of fasting, because (quoting the

leading argument) our Lord said to the Jews, concerning his disciples, 'As long as the bridegroom is on earth, they do not fast, but when he has ascended they will fast.'"

We, on our parts, made direct inquiries regarding the sacraments of the Chaldean Church. The bishop answered, "Two sacraments only are mentioned in our liturgies, Baptism and the Eucharist, and so the fathers of our Church taught us; but the rest (and he enumerated more than the Papists do, evidently considering the word sacrament in its original light, 'holy thing or mystery,' and applying it to consecration of churches, &c.) are only holy ordinances or forms of the Church." He remarked, that no layman can enter into the holy place (in their churches), for if such an intrusion took place, the bishop or priest must consecrate it again.

The aged dignitary expressed at length his feelings of deep regret at the corruption and apostasy which had found their way into this Church, a church which he enthusiastically said had stood from the earliest times of Christianity, amid all kinds of difficulties, reverses, and persecutions. Often had they seen their brethren sold as slaves, their churches pillaged, and their books destroyed. "Yet," he continued, "thank God, we are still as we were, only it is a great pity there should be apostates among us."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Sleeping Platforms of the Tiyari.

Approach to the Tiyari Country. Village of Lizan in Tiyari. Converse with the Tiyari people. Evening Prayers. Spiritual Christianity. The two natures of Christ. Superstitions. Start from Lizan. Villages of Tiyari. Elevated platforms for sleeping on. Lead Mines. Bivouac at a Zoma, or Summer Quarters. A Reprobate Chaldean. Summer Quarters. Descent by a Glacier. Pass through a Glacier. Mountain Valley. Ismael, King of the Tiyari.

June 15th. This day we left the worthy Bishop of Berrawi, on our road to the interior, and the first object of which was to visit the iron mines in the mountains of the same district, called Tura Duri. We found these mines to be worked on the surface in beds of oxide of iron, disposed parallel to the strata of a fissile yellow limestone dipping west at an angle of 26°. These yellow limestones belong to the upper chalk formation, and the

feroxides (fer limoneux of Beudant) occur in them in beds instead of nodules, as is commonly the case in this formation: these deposits have never been extensively wrought, though sufficiently for the wants of the people. The reason that the Kurdish and Chaldean mountaineers value their mines so much, and are so jealous of them, is that what little produce they derive from them they convert to their own use; which is not the case in Turkey in Asia, where the mines are either disregarded or else wrought by government, often in the vain hope of getting gold or silver from them. Hence these mountaineers think that if an intelligent nation had possession of their mines, incalculable riches might be derived from them, which is quite a mistake. They themselves are only acquainted with five mines in all Hakkari; I have examined three out of the five, and strongly suspect that none possess such advantages as would make it profitable to transport their ores over the mountain roads. I only wish I could have convinced the mountaineers of this, even half so firmly as I was convinced myself; how much suspicion and ill feeling regarding my mineralogical researches I should in that case have escaped!

Passing the Tura Duri, we gained the crest of the Deralini hills, the view from the summit of which was truly alpine. We stood at an elevation of 5811 feet above the level of the sea, and the valley immediately below us was nearly filled up with snow, upon which in one spot lay a whole grove of trees, that had been carried down by an avalanche, but below the valley descended rapidly, till, with one or two villages dispersed in its rugged acclivities, it terminated in a precipice over the

deep ravine of the Zab. Beyond these, other vales, each with their tributaries, of many miles in length and width, reached upwards towards the snow-clad summits of the Tura Shina. Two or three of these contained the villages of the Kurdish tribe called Chal, who have hitherto held out successfully against the Chaldeans.

The descent from the Deralini mountains was steep and tedious. Accompanied by our Greek servant, I started on foot and gained the last village of vassal Kurds towards the Tiyari country, and at the foot of a range of hills called hence the Karasi Tiyari. It appeared from the crest of the mountains to be just beneath us, but it took us a long hour and a half to reach it, half walking, half running. Here we had to wait upwards of an hour before the party had assembled. Mr. Rassam and Davud had attempted to ride down, and had both had falls, by which the interpreter had so hurt his back that we were obliged to have a little longer respite. At length we started again, still along the wild and wooded mountain side. As we advanced, a man came running hastily out of the woods to inquire where we were going and who we were; and our guides having satisfied him upon these points, we were allowed to proceed. This was the first challenge we had received on approaching the Tiyari country, and we were not again interrupted, which might perhaps be owing to what I ought not to have forgot to mention, that having at Duri sent back our guide from Amadiyeh, we had been supplied with two others by the bishop. Dr. Grant, who, owing to the mischance of the battle of Nizib, had anticipated us by one summer, in the priority of a visit to the Tiyari, had met with a more alarming salutation on his approach to

these redoubtable mountaineers. "The demand," [who we were, &c.,] he says, "was repeated by each successive party we passed, till finally the cry seemed to issue from the very rocks over our heads, 'Who are you? Whence do you come? What do you want?' A cry so often repeated in the deep Syriac gutturals of their stentorian voices was not a little startling: and then their bold bearing and a certain fierceness of expression, and spirited action and intonation of voice, with the scrutinizing inquiry whether we were Catholics or bad men, whom they might rob, &c. &c."

The path or mule-way, for it was never anything more, took us round the southern slope of the Karasi Tiyari, where its huge shoulder presses down upon the valley of the Zab. This rapid river rolled along amid impracticable precipices, nearly 1000 feet below us. Its course could be traced for some distance, but, except two narrow and alpine vales, watered by mountain torrents, and inhabited by the Chal Kurds, there was nothing but bold masses of rock rising above one another, and increasing in height eastwards to the mountain of Tsariya and the Tura Shina.

As we opened upon the valley of Lizan, or of the Miyah Izani (River of Izani), a scene presented itself more interesting than anything we had yet met with in the mountains. Before us was an alpine range of limestone rocks, stretching east-north-east and west-south-west, with lofty precipices fronting the west, and in their unsevered rectilinear prolongation appearing to form a barrier against all further progress. There was, however, one gap in this formidable rampart through which the Zab found its way, to obtain, as it were, a

little comparative repose at Lizan, where its bed is wide and less rocky. It is crossed by a bridge of ropes, which, at a distance, look like a single coil, and on the left bank is the Kurdish village of Jenan, while on the right is the great Chaldean village of Lizan, governed by an old gentleman who styles himself melik, or king, but who is under a superior melik of Tiyari, now in the mountains. The cottages of Lizan were not all grouped together, but were scattered among groves and gardens, and being built in a Swiss style, had a most pleasing appearance. A practice also obtained here, which we afterwards found to be general among these people, of sleeping in summer, not upon the roofs of the houses, but upon a frail scaffolding of four poles supporting a floor, sometimes small, sometimes large enough to contain a whole family. These bedsteads are from ten to twenty feet in height, sometimes in groves or amid rice-grounds, but oftener upon the crest of little hills, or in places exposed to the wind; by which means they avoid to a certain extent the musquitoes, that abound almost generally throughout Kurdistan.

On approaching Lizan, a person having apparently some authority came out with others to meet us. He received us at first with some distrust, but our country and pursuits being explained, we were welcomed and taken to the roof of a house overshadowed by a huge walnut tree. But we had espied, about half a mile from the village, and pleasantly situated upon the banks of the Zab, a neat whitewashed church, embosomed in a grove of mulberry and pomegranate trees. To this, accordingly, we repaired, and took up our quarters in the burial-ground, refreshed by breezes from the Zab,

which rolled by us at a rate of six miles and a half an hour.

We had not been long seated before an old man made his appearance, attended by a few followers, who introduced himself as the melik, or governor of the district, a word, with a little difference of spelling, at once Chaldean, Syriac, and Hebrew, which has been often translated in the Scripture as synonymous with king. Shortly afterwards the priest of Lizan came to us, one of the most engaging and best informed men we met with among the Chaldeans. The polished manners, the learning, and the kindly feeling of this man must have been all acquired in the mountains, for he had never been out of them, and if he had, he would not have found at Mosul on one side, or at Urumiyeh on the other, any examples to profit by, his manners being superior to anything I have observed among the natives at either of those places. Quiet, unassuming, yet intent in his arguments, there was nothing but his dress to distinguish him from an English country clergyman. He also wore spectacles, a rare thing in the East, and which added to his naturally rather studious and thoughtful aspect.

Our visitors thought at first that we were Franks and Papists, but when it was explained to them by Davud that we were English and Protestants they eagerly asked for information regarding the forms of our Church, and our feelings upon the errors of the Pope and Papists. They expressed themselves highly delighted with the explanations given, and the result was not the less interesting from the cool quiet churchyard in which we were assembled to talk these

matters over. They said, in the course of conversation, that it was highly dangerous for a Papist to come into the country, a manner of speaking common on all occasions in the mountains, where they are very fond, Christians and Kurds, of reminding you that it is only by favour that your appearance is tolerated.

Before the evening set in, and while Mr. Rassam was commenting with the priest upon one of the Epistles of St. Paul, I walked with the melik to see the mode of catching fish in the river of Lizan. The fish ascend during time of floods, and are afterwards caught on their descent by a dam put across the stream, with openings to let the water flow through cells, having a flooring of basket work, from which the fish cannot return.

At sunset we were invited to join in prayers, which we did joyfully. They washed their hands and faces before reading the Homily, and all stood the time of the service, with the exception of the melik, who appeared to be a very devout old man, but with his own way of viewing matters, and he retired to near the wall of the church, where he prostrated himself frequently.

After prayer Kasha Kena, the priest of Lizan, said to the melik, "Look at these good people; they were sent from a long distance and a far country to bring us tidings of succour, while we ourselves have so little regard to our people and to our church. They heard of our indolence in regard to educating our children, and they send to aid us. What can be greater charity than this?"

After this we sat again in conversation. They said, they had heard about the English, but that they had not heard of their church or doctrines. They only knew

that the doctrines of Europe were good in former times, but that they had had many councils and had become corrupted from the original. Kasha Kena spoke much against confession, which, he said, was the invention of man. He quoted St. James, and added, Christ wishes us to repent in the heart, and not to make an illusion with our mouth.

The doctrine of purgatory was also made the subject of conversation. They expressed not a little dislike to what they designated as a bold innovation in the doctrines of the Church, and an emanation from the devil, being decidedly opposed to what is inculcated by the Holy Scriptures. Kasha Kena quoted St. John in proof that the blood of Christ cleansed us from all sin; and St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, was also appealed to as averring that there is no condemnation for those who are in Jesus Christ Thus, there is not that total want of spirituality in the Christianity of the people, which has been by some persons supposed to exist.

They also spoke concerning the marriage of priests. They were delighted to hear that the Church of England tolerated the marriage of the clergy. They repeated upon the subject of sacraments what we had from the metropolitan of Berrawi.

It is difficult to express their gratification when we mentioned incidentally the proposed views of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The priests who were present spoke of the opening of schools as a great blessing in store for them, for which they should never be able sufficiently to show their gratitude towards those who intended to confer such benefits (holy things) upon

them. Many schools, they said, might be opened, for the children were numerous.

They protested against being called Nestorians, their true designation being Chaldeans. They said, "Nestor was the patriarch of the Greeks and not of us. Cyril and his followers were opposed to our Church because we did not embrace their doctrines, and they calumniated us by designating us as followers of Nestorius. But our Church existed long before the schism of the Nestorians, and held by the same doctrine both before and after the patriarch whose name has been imposed upon us by a depreciatory ill-will."

They also discussed the subject of the nature of Christ. They said, "It is never mentioned in the New Testament that Mary was the mother of God, or that she bore the Father, but that she bore Christ. If we call her Mother of God, we mean either that she bore the Trinity, or the first Person of the Holy Trinity; when we say, Mother of Christ, we mean that she bore the second Person, who was incarnate and died for us; but when we say God, we mean the Everlasting Being who has neither beginning nor end, who is the Cause of all causes, and does not die or alter." Thus we had also heard them chant from their liturgy at Duri, "God never dies! Let the mouths of heretics be shut; let the mouth of Cyril be closed, for God never dies!"

They said, "The Jacobites and Papists blame us because we say there are two persons in Christ." "There is no necessity to prove the two persons of Christ from the Fathers of the earliest time, for we can satisfy ourselves by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures. The Holy Spirit spoke by St. Paul, 'By the killing of his

person,' that is, his humanity and not his divinity, which it is impossible for man to contemplate. We do not believe, as is asserted by our enemies, that Christ was only man till his baptism: God protect us from such heresy. We believe that when the angel came to the Virgin Mary, and announced to her the miraculous conception, the divinity was united at that time with the humanity."

Mr. Rassam asked the priest for what object they celebrated the communion. He replied, "For the commemoration of the death of Christ, as He himself ordered to be done, when He said, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' And we do it also, that by our repentance, and by partaking of the communion, our sins may be forgiven." "It is the greatest pledge," said the priest, "that Christ has given to us." He further expressed his dislike to the popish doctrine of transubstantiation.

Upon the subject of pictures the Chaldeans of Tiyari expressed the same feelings that we had met with in the Berrawi country. "If the Christians of Europe and of the Greek Church," they said, "make pictures and kiss them, or bow down before them and worship them, where is the difference between them and the heathen?" They also quoted many passages from the Old and New Testament against the worship of pictures. And when they were told that the Church of England prohibited the adoration of images and pictures, they exclaimed, "Certainly, this is a true Christian Church."

It is to be remarked, that the Chaldeans occasionally address themselves to the saints as mediators. They excused this by saying, that it is true that in the Scriptures Christ is mentioned as the only mediator; but,

from the earliest times the Church used to commemorate particular holy men, who laboured much for the Church of Christ, and also others who died martyrs for the religion; and gradually it became the custom to ask them in their prayers for their intercession before God.

There is a further custom which obtains among the Chaldeans, and which savours of superstition, that if a woman falls sick, she makes a vow, for her recovery, to present the church with one or more dresses, and when she gets well she takes this gift so vowed, and hangs it up in the church.

There is always a bad man in every large company, and one dissatisfied fellow this evening got up the old tale of mines and foreign conquests, but we put him down very quickly, and sent him away to enjoy the society of his own sullen self and mind of evil forebodings.

Lizan church was found, by an observation of Jupiter on the meridian, to be in north latitude 36° 53′ 50″. There are several roads from thence to the Hakkari country, but all of them have to compass the ascent of the great limestone range immediately east of the valley. One of them is carried over the side of the Tsariya Mount, east of the Zab, but is not accessible by mules; and all the rest present great difficulties.

On leaving the kind and hospitable inhabitants of the Tiyari country, we were accompanied by three armed men, who were furnished to us by the villagers of Lizan, to act at once as guides and as guards.

June 16*th*. Anxious to see as much of the Tiyari country as possible, we proceeded up the valley of the Izani, with the view of visiting Ashitah (Avalanche),

the largest of the Tiyari villages, and said to contain four churches.

Our guides, however, for some reason or other, which I could never find out, turned up the mountains and disappointed us in our object, without making us aware of the fact till too late to be remedied. Dr. Grant visited this village, the name of which he writes Asheetha, and where he was the guest of priest Auraham (Abraham), who is reputed the most learned Chaldean now living. He has spent twenty years of his life in writing and reading books, and has thus done much to supply the waste of, if not to replenish, the Chaldean literature. But even he had not an entire Bible; and though the Chaldeans have preserved the Scriptures in manuscript with great care and purity, so scarce are the copies, that only the Patriarch is possessed of an entire Bible; and even that was in half a dozen different volumes. Thus divided, one man has the Gospels, another the Epistles, the Psalms, the Peutateuch, or the Prophets. Portions of the Scriptures are also contained in their church liturgy or ritual. The population of Ashitah is estimated at 5000 souls, and they say they can bring 1000 armed men into the field. This village, the largest in the mountains, may be considered as the capital of the Tiyari, or independent Chaldeans.

The villages of Tiyari are, Ashitah, Zawithah, Miniyani, Margi, Kurkah, Lizin, Jematha, Zermi, Shut, Rawala, Tel Bekin, Beileitha, Oriatha, Rowarri, Lagipa, Matha Kasr, Bezizu, Rumtha, Sadder, Serspittin, Betkhi, Nehr Kalahsi, Chamani, and Kalah thani, twenty-four villages, which I have estimated at twenty houses each, in my report to the Royal Geographical

Society, and a population of 3840 souls, but the results of Dr. Grant's journey were not at that time published, from which it appears that the population of Ashitah alone may be estimated at 5000 souls, making a total for Tiyari, of at least 8000 souls.

At a short distance beyond Lizan we passed the village of Miniyani, divided into two parts, upper and lower, about a quarter of a mile from one another; and three miles from the same place the village of Umrah, beyond which, one mile, was Zawithah. The whole valley presented beauties equalling anything in the Alpine districts of Europe.

Beyond Lizan the valley begins to rise, the river flowing through a ravine below; but above this, and at the foot of the stupendous cliffs which guard the valley, is a shelving portion of declivity, which is everywhere cultivated, overgrown with trees, or studded with the pretty cottages of the mountaineers. Every available plot of ground is cultivated in terraces, rising one above the other, and the rocky interval that separates them is covered with fruit-trees or tall poplars for building. The system of irrigation practised on these terraces is very perfect; I counted twenty-five terraces sown with rice, the most common crop, all under water at the same time. In the middle of the valley the cultivation and cottages are mostly on the south side, and above the level of the river (Izani), but higher up they occupy both sides equally, and extend to the banks of the stream. Cultivation attains its greatest altitude at Zawithah.

The village churches are solid stone edifices, of simple structure, with arched roof, but without tower,

steeple, or bells, often neatly white-washed, and they are generally built on some eminence or slight elevation of ground. Umrah has two of these, both occupying picturesque situations. Some of them are of great antiquity, and are said to have stood for ages. The door is low and narrow, and will generally admit only one person at a time, and that stooping.

Every now and then we came upon groups of the wooden platforms ("high scaffolds," Dr. Grant calls them,) used for night-rest, often dispersed eight or ten in number, round or about an inclosed place, sheltered by surrounding trees, and where in summer-time, whole families meet together at sunset, and have prayers and converse together before retiring to their separate roosting places.

At Umrah we commenced the ascent of the mountain. The heat of the sun rendered the toil most severe. In one hour's time we reached the foot of the cliffs, the mules working up behind; we then turned along the face of the precipice near its foot. The road was so bad, that we had twice to load and unload the mules; at length we reached a gap in the rocks which led us to a vast growth of fennel, which announced proximity to the snow line. A number of peasants were occupied in cutting this useful plant, which constitutes the winter stock of cattle provender. When green it is chopped and put into sour milk, to which it gives a pleasant aromatic flavour. Two species of fennel abound here, and it is remarkable that they respectively favour opposite sides of the mountains. With them grow Alchemilla alpina, Trifolium alpestre, Stachys alpina, and a Lobelia.

We had not yet, however, attained the beautiful alpine vegetation which we were afterwards presented with. These heights were now arrayed in their most attractive green, and the relief to the eye was very great. The crest of the Kuriki, the mountain we were now crossing over, was 7652 feet in elevation; the culminating point of Kuriki, clad with snow, must exceed 8000 feet in height. The descent was still steeper than the ascent, and rendered difficult by the nature of the rock, a slaty argillaceous limestone, which dipped parallel with the slope of the mountain, leaving smooth surfaces to slide over, and it was impossible to say sometimes how far these slides might be carried. Leaving the rest of the party to follow a long and devious tract, and our mules in charge of the muleteers, I descended, or rather slipped down, this steep surface of rock, accompanied only by our Greek servant, direct to the large village of Taraspino.

On the side of the hill, not far from its base, the guides had pointed out a rude rock, where there was a mine, and I proceeded to its examination, without any one being aware of our presence, and there was nobody at the mine itself. We found what appeared to be, from a hasty examination, a promising vein of galena, at the bottom of a shaft of no great depth, for the mine is only wrought when the peasants are in want of bullets. The veinstone was barytes, and I got some pretty crystalline calcareous spar; the forms, however, were not uncommon. Madreporites abounded in this limestone.

We next proceeded to the village, where we arrived a full hour before the remainder of the party. We sat

down for a moment on an open space in the middle of the village, the villagers crowding round to see us. Some women kindly brought us butter-milk to drink. As the crowd kept collecting, I went to the forge, which consisted of a small single furnace, without chimney, but with bellows of adequate size. The crucible would not hold twenty pounds avoirdupois of metal, and it is evident that it is only smelted for bullets or some other such purpose. The lead is not oxidated for silver, as there was no furnace for the purpose.

Soon after the arrival of the party, the whole village, men, women, and children, crowded round us. They willingly gave us specimens of ore, yet to my surprise the guides declared this a bad village, and that we must go on; I believe it was owing to our Mohammedan muleteers, who had been threatened. We accordingly started for another range, formed of quartz rock and schist, and gained the crest after little more than an hour's foot work. We then continued along the side of the hill, over several snow patches, and above the valley of the Zab. Mr. Rassam and Davud began to give me uneasiness, as they were far in the rear, and had several tumbles; Mr. Rassam was complaining of his chest, from which he afterwards suffered much, and it was growing dark. At length, just after sunset, we came to a summer pasture around a great patch of snow, called Zoma Suwarri. There were a few peasants here, and we drew up and waited for stragglers, spending a night of a most agreeable and invigorating temperature at an altitude of 7169 feet by boiling-point thermometer. The shepherds had with them some specimens of the fine mastiff of Kurdistan, which in outward appearance

very much resembles the St. Bernard breed, but is more shaggy.

There is a road carried across the mountain at a lower level than the one we were at present following, and which is only available during a short season of the year. Upon that road, a monastery was built some years back, for the entertainment of travellers, and a certain sum of money was given by the Chaldean church towards its erection. But a melik, by name Melik Khiyo, in whose district was this charitable institution, was found guilty of perverting the funds placed at his disposal to his own advantage, and came under the displeasure of Mar Shimon, apparently for other evil doings, so far as to be excommunicated from the church. He is now in consequence at enmity with Mar Shimon, and hearing that some Franks were upon the road to visit the Patriarch, he concluded, as is customary in this country, that we were bearers of presents, which he resolved to appropriate to himself*.

The plan he adopted was to send two armed men, who met us on the road next day, and with many polite words expressed their astonishment at our having come so difficult a road, regretted our fatigue, requested that our guides should be sent back, as they would now see us safe to a place of refreshment, and thence across the mountains. These kind proposals not being accepted, the argument was changed, and the conversation was more particularly directed towards the guides, who were told it was better for them to return, as the melik was

* Dr. Grant also notices his being obliged to take the more circuitous road by Ashitah, on account of this reprobate Chaldean.

determined to fight us, and they might come off badly. They, however, remained firm to their post, and we heard no more of the matter*.

The prospect from the Zoma Suwarri was very grand, the rock scenery being bold and various. To the north, range after range of rugged mountains succeeded one another like giant walls, so rapidly as to make it inconceivable how such a country can be penetrated. Five different ranges presented themselves between us and the snow-clad uplands of Julamergi and the head-waters of the Zab. To the south, were all the long crests of rock we had toiled over, the summits of Tura Shina and Kuriki rising over all; and after all our labour, the gap by which the Zab found its way into happy Lizan appeared quite close to us, but at a depth that diminished the trees and buildings into points pricked on the rock's surface.

These zomas are certainly the most delightful places imaginable in summer time, and derive still more zest from comparison with the concentrated heat of the

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* Notwithstanding the case now narrated, it is certain that the general character of the mountaineer Chaldeans is that of extreme honesty. Dr. Grant relates some interesting anecdotes illustrative of their high sense of honour and pride incompatible with a low paltry thieving propensity. "We have no thieves here," is their constant answer to any question of the kind; and from what I could myself judge of them, I should say there were, *cæteris paribus*, as few thieves as among the most civilized people. They everywhere confide in each other's integrity, and there is no doubt that the high sense of honour and of religious principle which obtains among all, is a better preventive of evil, than all the sanguinary punishments of the Turks and Persians.

pent-up valley which the traveller probably leaves the same morning. Here he breathes an atmosphere that is cool, pure, and invigorating, he drinks from crystal streams perpetually cooled by the melting snows, while the greensward around is enlivened with the gaudy flowers of spring. The inhabitants of each village have their separate zomas, or summer quarters, and live in harmony with each other, seeming to regard their sojourn on the mountain-heights as the pleasantest portions of their life. All the members of our party did not relish it, however, as much as I did, and some were shivering with cold and quite unhappy. It is curious that the sheep, when they came in from pasture, all went to sleep upon the snow.

In contemplating the future establishment of missions among these most worthy and remarkable people, Dr. Grant observes truly, that while the permanent stations will be in the larger villages of the valleys, both health and usefulness will no doubt require their occasional removal with the Chaldeans to their zomas. "It is such a life," he says, "as the sweet Psalmist of Israel often led; and why may it not now conduce, as then, to holy contemplation and converse with nature's God; and a spirit of fervid, exalted piety breathe through the bosoms of these dwellers upon the mountains?"

June 17th. Our road still lay along the side of the mountain, the snow was more abundant, and the slope often very steep. Those who got over first stopped to laugh at those who came behind, for the falls were even more ridiculous than dangerous.

Mr. Rassam, like Dr. Grant, on his journey, had

provided himself with a pair of sandals of the country, which are wrought with hair-cord in such a manner as to be made to adhere firmly to the foot, but they are often worn out by a single day's journey, and hence, as previously noticed, every mountaineer carries a large needle in his breast to mend them. Rassam did not, however, get on well with them, and I sometimes trembled for him when I saw him get nervous and his knees begin to quiver under him. The Chaldeans generally took their shoes off. I had a pair of European boots, and ran over the glaciers, striking the heel firmly each time into the snow, and I found this plan answer well, and carry me quickly over the most dangerous glaciers. In one place the mules had to pass under a waterfall at the head of a glacier, when their burthens were well wetted—on two occasions they had to be unloaded. It was on the side of this mountain that we found waiting for us the persons before alluded to. A little below was a zoma, sprinkled with the large bright blossoms of the Crocus alpina and Azalea procumbens, besides several species of squill and the clustered umbel of a spiked ornithogalum and common blue hyacinth.

We observed on the sides of this mountain a considerable change in the vegetation,—indeed we found almost every range more or less characterised by the preponderance of certain forms over others, and the vast numerical increase of a few social species. Here three species of plants excluded almost all others; they were the great goat's thorn, goat's beard, and Rhamnus saxatilis, the berries of which are used by the Easterns to dye leather yellow. It must not, however, be confounded with the yellow berry of commerce, which is

the produce of R. catharticus. Goats and sheep feed upon all these plants, as did also our mules; and flocks were numerous on these well-clad hills. It is remarkable of the goat's beard, that its geographical distribution is very various, and that though abounding on the plain of Adiabene, it yet does not cross the Tigris. Its white stem, when first pushing out in spring, is abundant in the market of Mosul, where it is brought from the plains east of the Tigris; and, although wild, it is incomparably the best vegetable which this country affords. The stem makes a pleasant salad, and in the mountains is peeled and eaten raw.

On our descent dwarf almond and Azalea procumbens were in flower and abundant. We got down to the valley of Itha by means of a glacier, about a mile in length by 300 yards in width. It sloped more gently than some preceding ones; and although perforated by a mountain torrent it bore mules and men in safety. By commencing too precipitously I got into a rate of descent which soon attained a celerity that threatened disastrous results. I endeavoured in vain to bring myself up by thrusting my stick in the snow between my legs, for I was sliding down, from the momentarily increasing velocity that I was gaining, with nothing but destruction before me, when I made a last and desperate effort to fix my stick deep enough in the snow to arrest my body, and this time, to my infinite satisfaction, it succeeded. When I regained composure I found myself half a mile from my comrades, near the bottom of the glacier, covered with perspiration and trembling all over.

The valley of Itha is beautifully situate, being encir-

eled on the north by lofty snow-clad mountains, the Tusani Tura, the rocks of which dip north, while they present bold precipices towards the valley. There are here three villages—Itha, Pir Beka, and Galitha. After stopping a short time at Pir Beka, a village of Kurds, who are tributary to the Tiyari Chaldeans, and where we got our favourite dish of boiled wheat in sour milk, we proceeded down the valley of the river of Itha to the bridge which is opposite to Galitha. The torrent (for it was nothing else at this season of melting snows) was there fifteen yards wide by five to six feet in depth. The bridge was ingeniously made of wicker-work.

From Galitha we commenced another ascent almost as fatiguing as that of the Kuriki. Half way up this ascent I had the curiosity to pass with the water-course through the heart of a glacier for about 600 yards, when I reached the other side; the effects of light and shade within this icy tunnel were beautiful, and the fine expanse of marbled arch was pleasing to the eye, but it was like walking in a drizzling rain. In winter-time the inhabitants here descend the mountains on sledges of very simple construction: a single piece of wood slightly concavo-convex, or boat-shaped, has a deep notch in front, to which a cord is attached, and the navigator pulls hard in the direction opposite to that in which he is going; still he must exceed our railway trains in speed when launched upon an even declivity of snow with a slope of from 35° to 45°.

Having gained the crest, we had nothing to do but to descend another glacier, and it was the work of a few minutes to lose the elevation which it had taken us upwards of an hour to ascend. We then found our-

selves in an alpine valley, overgrown with fennel and a rank, marshy vegetation, at the lower part of which was the village of Malotah, where we passed the night, much against the will of our guides, as the inhabitants were Kurds. These people were in extreme poverty, living almost entirely upon wild plants. We could only get from them the stem of the fennel, gathered just as it issues from the ground near the snow-line, and stalks of rhubarb, the acidity of which, however, was very pleasant and refreshing. They had lately killed a bear at this village; the skin measured six feet four inches from the snout to the stump of the tail, and the fur was of a dun-grey colour, whitish beneath. We also saw here horns of the wild goat.

The Chaldeans are, like most mountaineers, proud of their qualifications as marksmen. On the way to-day some wood-pigeons alighted on the road in advance of us. One of our guides fired at one with ball and struck it, cutting a few feathers off the wing; I saw, however, that the two others were annoyed at him for not killing it, and would not let him shoot again before us.

This valley, at an elevation of 6200 feet, was partly cultivated, partly covered with snow, and the remainder overgrown with a rank vegetation, more especially of umbelliferous plants; among which, however, were a few beautiful flowering plants, as crown imperial, pæony, and asphodel. The waters of this little alpine valley found their way out by a narrow and deep glen in limestone, and then tumbled along to the valley of the Zab.

June 18*th*. The ascent to-day was not so steep, and in some parts we could mount our mules. The hills were also now wooded with fine oak; and gaining

the next crest (Warandun), we found ourselves immediately above a summer pasture with a large patch of snow, whereon was now encamped Ismael, chief melik of Tiyari. The descent was steeper than the ascent, and extended about 800 feet.

The only tent in the zoma of Warandun was that of the melik; all the rest were canopies of bushes or huts made of branches, but notwithstanding this aspect of poverty there was no want nor discomfort; all seemed gay and happy, the effect of such a delightful position. A few cross sticks were quickly set up, and a carpet spread over them for our accommodation. It was some time before his majesty the King of Tiyari made his appearance. He at length was seen slipping out of his tent, and encompassing our carpeted mansion. He came as if from an opposite direction, entering with an air half of pleasure, half of surprise. He had evidently been dressing, and was clad in a new cloak of scarlet cloth and wine coloured inexpressibles. As many as the little tent would hold crowded in, and our position became extremely irksome. King, travellers, soldiers, peasants, muleteers, were all crowded or rather jammed together. It was with difficulty that space was made for a repast of rice and sour milk that had been hospitably prepared for us. The conversation turned chiefly upon mountain-politics, as the melik's mind was evidently quite absorbed by the appearance of the Turkish troops at Amadiyeh. He said he was also threatened on the side of Van. He appeared to be well affected towards Ibrahim Pasha, an emissary from whom had lately visited these mountains. He also spoke favourably of the condition of the Christians under the Russian

rule. He was not a man whose countenance expressed much firmness or vigour of character. Tall and of spare habit, he appeared to have given himself a good deal up to domestic comforts, and to have forgone the elasticity and energetic movements of the mountaineers, and in point of judgment and intelligence he was far inferior to the Patriarch of the Chaldeans.

Dr. Grant describes the melik of Tiyari as a very intelligent man for a person in his circumstances; but he says, "It is quite evident that a people so much shut out of the world can have but a very imperfect and confused notion of what is going on in other countries. He had, however, heard of steam-boats and balloons."

Similar customs existing among people geographically remote from one another, independent of their importance in tracing the early distribution of nations, always excite interest, especially if connected with certain physical circumstances. A pleasing reminiscence of other alpine countries was afforded to us here by the general custom of wearing an eaglet's feather in the cap, the son of the melik being alone distinguished by a dark green cock's feather, such as is worn in Tyrol*.

* The melik, observing that I had been collecting plants, sent a man who brought me a gorgeous specimen of a scarlet cypripedium which grew in shady places near the snow-line.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Berdizawi—Little Zab. Kurd Bey of Leihun. Poverty of the Kurds. Town and Fortress of Julamerik. Mar Shimon, Patriarch of the Chaldeans. Conversation with the Patriarch. Enmity of the Kurdish Bey of the Hakkari. Detention of the Patriarch by the Turks.

Quitting the melik of Tiyari, we descended about 1000 feet through a thick forest to the valley of Kiyau, where we pastured the horses while I examined a neighbouring lead mine. There was, however, only a shaft of a few feet in depth, and that not being at present worked, I could not ascertain the thickness of the vein. It occurs in a slaty yellow limestone belonging to the upper chalk formation. Most of the lead here is gathered from the water-courses in small pebbles, as the tin is in some of the mines of Cornwall, only the fragments are less round.

There are two villages at Kiyau, the upper one Mohammedan and of tributary Kurds, the lower one Chaldean and with a church.

In the parallel of Kiyau, or rather a little below it, and at the foot of Warandun, the Zab is divided into two branches of very nearly equal size; the southerly branch comes from the country beyond Julamerik, the northerly from Leihun and that quarter. This latter is called Berdizawi, or Little Zab. A huge mountain-mass, called Meskannah, extends between the two rivers.

After a short ascent over yellow and fissile limestones we travelled along the banks of the Berdizawi,

sometimes over cliffs of conglomerate which overhang the river, and down which one of the mules had a fall, but was luckily held up by the trees, and recovered without any hurt. In little more than an hour we came to a torrent which descended from a lofty and snow-clad chain to the west, called Mar Hannan, the same name as that of the metropolitan of Adiabene, who, at the beginning of the ninth century withdrew a large part of Kurdistan from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Azerbijan and annexed it to the bishopric of Salak, which, according to Major Rawlinson, was the name applied formerly by the Syrians to the Kurdish mountains between Media and Assyria.

Beyond Mar Hannan River to the north are two rocky ranges of limestone, which, with the characteristic peculiarity of that rock, tower up in lofty precipices, in this case fronting the west, while the strata dip east. The most easterly and most lofty of these ranges is called Sinabea, and beyond it is the upland of Leihun.

We crossed the first and lower range, when a curious arrangement of rock presented itself. The lofty precipices of limestone to the north and south fall away to the same point in the east. Starting towards it from nearly equal distances, the cliffs begin to lower and to approximate at the same time, till they meet in a point over which the Berdizawi throws itself with a roaring noise and a cloud of foam and spray. I regret that our road did not conduct me near enough to examine in detail, or take measurements of this great waterfall. Turning to the north, the path led along the foot of the cliffs and then up rocks like steps, so that on approaching the crest

of the Sinaber, I found myself separated from the river by several tiers of rock-terraces, presenting so many inaccessible cliffs.

On the upland of Leihun we found the Berdizawi divided into three branches, all which unite shortly before the gap in the rocks. We crossed all these streams on bridges of twigs: the waters rolled beneath with the noise and rapidity of mountain-torrents.

This upland is inhabited by the Kurdish tribe of Leihun, the bey of which is under that of Julamerik. Many villages, with much cultivation, are scattered around. We crossed the river, and turned rather to the south-west, to the village of the bey. A short time after our arrival, this worthy governor, a fine but ferocious-looking old man, came to us on the roof of his house, and, without allowing any interruptions, addressed us in pretty nearly the following amiable strain, omitting the salam:—"What do you do here; are you not aware that Franks are not allowed in this country? No dissimulation! I must know who you are, and what is your business. Who brought these people here?" turning round in a haughty, preremptory way. "I," said one of the Chaldeans, laying his hand on his breast in an undaunted manner. The bey turned again, and said, more deliberately and quietly, "You are the fore-runners of those who come to take this country; therefore it is best that we should take first what you have, as you will afterwards take our property;" and he turned to his followers for approbation, which was grinned forth fiercely. Taking advantage of the *hiatus*, Mr. Rassam endeavoured to put in some peaceable sentences, and ultimately got the old man into a better humour. After

a time he got up to go away; then turning towards me, who had been all the time sitting under a tree, where I had gone to take a few notes—an employment I was soon obliged to give up—he said to Mr. Rassam, "You are social; but who is that proud brute in the corner?" I laughed at him, and he walked pompously away. At night the mules were huddled together, and each in his own way prepared against an attempt at robbery, not so much from the old chieftain's braggadocio as from the whisperings and signs we observed going on among his followers; but nothing came of all this noise. The Chaldeans said that if they had robbed us, the Tiyari, as we were under their protection, would have punished them for it; but I think they did not like the risk that would have attended upon the attempt; for there were five well-armed men in our party, besides five slightly armed.

June 19*th*. From Leihun the direction of our travels was altered: the same previously-described remarkable peculiarity in the configuration of the country which had so much influence upon its hydrography affected also the lines of communication, and we now turned to the eastward, over the upland of Leihun, and low ranges of hills. The temperature was so low as to feel actually cold; and as we went eastward the river of Leihun was seen flowing through pastures, as a quiet stream, and no longer a roaring torrent. Far away to the north was a Christian church, called Mar Ghiyorghiyo Karkal, much reverenced by the Chaldeans, as the tomb of a holy person who made many converts; and at the head waters of the river was the snow-clad chain of Para Ashin, which stretches in front and beneath the loftier Erdish

Tagh. Passing over a range of hills, rising no great height above the upland, we descended to a cultivated vale, with houses and gardens. This place is called Eslaya. The inhabitants are Kurds, and very poor: they said they had not tasted bread for forty days. We certainly could get nothing from them, so we made a breakfast upon a salad of young vine shoots.

Near Eslaya (6258 feet in elevation), we entered upon the first granitic district we had met with in the mountains. This rock shows itself first on the upland, at an elevation of 6000 feet, but soon rises up 1000 feet above that, in bare, rude masses; and their prolongation apparently forms the Tura Jellu of the Chaldeans, and Jawur Tagh of the Persians, the loftiest chain of Kurdistan. In the marshy spots, such as are frequent in granitic countries, there was a brilliant vegetation, more especially of Primula auricula, of which the peasants made bouquets to present us with. Caltha palustris, Pinguicula alpina, Veronica aphylla, Epilobium alpinum, and many saxifrages, Euphorbiæ, Carices, and grasses also abounded.

Another ascent with a snow patch brought us in view of Julamerik. The first appearance prepossesses the traveller much in favour of a town so beautifully situated. The castellated part consists of a massive building, which is the residence of the bey, and occupies the eastern extremity. A central square court, with round towers at the angles, occupies the centre, while to the west, a few stray houses, irregularly detached, climb up a low cliff, which rises with precipitous sides from out of the collection of mud hovels, about two hundred in number, that nearly encircle the hill, and constitute the

town of Julamerik. In other respects, it is situate in a deep hollow on the Kurdistan upland, being at an elevation of about 5400 feet, and in a ravine, by which the rivulets of the district, of which there are many, find their way into the Zab, which flows past Erek, three or four miles from the fortress, from which it is visible through the ravine opening immediately below. To the east is a bold rocky mountain, called Shembat, which is at least three thousand feet above Julamerik, and beyond it are the still loftier summits of Jellu or Jawur Tagh, the highest mountains of this part of Kurdistan, and probably only equalled by the Maranan mountains; the nearest of its summits to Julamerik is called Galila. To the south-west rises a rock of lime-stone, about six hundred feet high, bearing a ruined castle, designated Kalah Bawa. Around, and especially to the north and north-west, is some cultivation, with a few villages; we descended to one of these, called Merzin, and thence sent off a guide to announce our arrival to Mar Shimon, and await his disposal of our persons. The Patriarch was at that time acting-governor at Julamerik, or Jemar, as it is called by the Chaldeans, the Kurd bey having gone to Bash Kalah to meet an envoy from Hafiz Pasha. Had he been at Koch Hannes, we would have waited upon him at once; but we were too well aware of the jealous disposition of the Kurds at Julamerik to throw impediments in our own way, by doing anything that might cause either a feigned or real distrust on the part of the Patriarch.

Mar Shimon sent back for answer, as might have been foreseen, that we had better not come into Julamerik, where all our motions would be watched, and no

private conversation could be indulged in; but his brother would receive us at Pagi, an Armenian village, close to the town, and where he would visit us next morning. We were accordingly soon installed in the yard of the Armenian church, from whence, as it came on to rain, we retired to the vestibule, where the people for two days had the extreme satisfaction of worrying us till we had nearly lost all patience. We were never for one moment, night or day, without a number of men around us, whose only amusement was to examine all our things, to pass jests, and fling epithets of scorn upon their visitors. I was not allowed to take any notes, being carefully watched night and day. We did everything in our power to conciliate these rude people, by rendering them various services, but to no purpose; nevertheless I obtained a few astronomical observations at night, effecting my purpose under pretences which insured me a few minutes' privacy. By two meridian passages of Jupiter and one of the moon, Pagi church is in north latitude 37° 8′ 53″; its elevation is 4880 feet*.

June 20th. Mar Shimon came to us at five in the morning, and conversation lasted till half-past one P.M., fasting, I suppose, to preserve clearness of understanding. Mar Shimon is in every respect a fine man, thirty-nine years of age, tall, strong, well proportioned, with a good forehead, and pleasant, expressive, and rather intelligent

* It is worthy of being recorded as an act of kindness, amid so much rudeness, that a simple repast was brought to us, and all we could learn was that it came from a widow who had lately lost her husband. After our interview, however, with the Patriarch, provisions in plenty were regularly sent us from the castle of Julamerik.

countenance, while his large flowing robes, his Kurdish turban, and his long grey beard, give him a patriarchal and venerable aspect, which is heightened by a uniformly dignified demeanour. He was, however, evidently timid in regard to the Kurds. Our presents, consisting of modest luxuries, scarce in the mountains, such as calico, boots, olives, pipe-tops, frankincense, soap, snuff, &c., were, to my amusement, displayed in public by Davud, everybody offering an opinion upon the value of each item. The Patriarch gave us a cordial welcome, and we soon felt that pleasure and ease in his society which is most conducive to agreeable conversation. After the usual compliments, inquiries regarding our journey, &c., he evidently became anxious to understand the cause of our visiting him in his secluded country.

Mr. Rassam then spoke in Arabic to Davud, who translated into Chaldean, what was understood to be a brief and simple statement of the chief of these objects, and the views of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The patriarch was evidently quite unacquainted with the doctrines of the Church of England, and consequently at first somewhat alarmed at the proposal to establish amicable relations with what might differ from him in principle or practice. "The Pope," he said, "has sent people from Rome, who have seduced part of our Church. His doctrine is new, but ours is old; we never changed our forms of worship, but we keep to, and abide by, what was delivered to us by the Apostles and our fathers; therefore you must know that we never change our doctrine nor our forms of worship." It was immediately explained that it was not the wish of the Society to make the Chaldean Church subject to the

Church of England, as the Pope makes those churches he enters into relation with subject to the Church of Rome, but to help them, by educating the youths, by printing books, and by endeavouring to restore to its primitive purity the knowledge and civilization possessed by the followers of the Chaldean Church; that the Church of England would be very sorry to interfere in the modes of worship in the old Church; that it labours not to increase the power of any particular church or bishop, but to unite the Church all over the world in brotherly love and sound doctrine; that it is not their wish to make them abandon their rites for ours, but to induce them to free and amicable relations, in order that, if they have errors, these may be rectified by themselves; but more especially in order that, by the assistance given in teaching and printing, the truths of the Gospel may be more generally diffused, and the advantage of sound, moral, and religious education, may gradually make itself felt throughout the country.

That we had further much pleasure in informing him upon another point, in proof that we came to succour and help, and not to produce disunion, viz., that the Chaldean Church and the Church of England agree in most of their doctrines. The Patriarch was exceedingly surprised at this, as he had been led to understand that the American missionaries, who are Congregationalists, and who are engaged in the good work of teaching the youth of the Chaldeans, inhabiting the plains of Persian Kurdistan, belonged to the Church of England, and yet had no liturgy, no express form of prayer, and acknowledged no apostolic succession. We, however, informed the Patriarch that there were among us many zealous

Christians who seemed to have read the Bible, rather to invent new doctrines and rebel against the Church than to give them increase of wisdom and holiness, and have preferred following such doctrines rather than that of the bishops who are appointed to teach the nations, and with the whole body of whom the Lord has promised to be; that these persons have seceded from the Church of England and have corrupted the doctrines of Christianity; but as we do not think these corruptions so bad as to destroy the Christian faith we do not call them heresies.

During conversation, the priest who came with us from Amadiyeh presented to the Patriarch a brass crucifix made at Rome. The Patriarch took it in his hand, and after looking at it a little while, he shook it before the priest's face, saying, "The idols of the heathen are silver and gold, the work of men's hands; they have mouths but they speak not, eyes have they but they see not, they have ears but they hear not, neither is there any breath in their mouths. They that make them are like unto them, so is every one that trusteth in them." He continued about a minute after this turning it over and over, looking at it, and repeating the words, "Oh unbelievers! oh blasphemers!" But the priest, who became much frightened when he saw the anger of the Patriarch, wished to make an apology, and said, "Father, there is nothing in it, it is merely the representation of the crucifixion of our Saviour." The Patriarch answered, that "Christ had suffered once and had entered into glory, he will neither suffer nor die any more. Such things must be made by Jews, who delight in representing the sufferings of Jesus Christ, and not by Christians,

who ought to rejoice, inasmuch as Christ for their sake suffered and died, and conquered death." He then threw the cross away. We learned afterwards that the priest had obtained this unfortunate present, which thus brought him into disgrace, from the Roman Catholic bishop Mar Yusuf; and he had accepted it, thinking it was very pretty and that there was no harm in it. The circumstance, however, led the Patriarch for a moment to think that we were concerned in the matter, and that there was Roman Catholicism in the back-ground, so Mr. Rassam was obliged to join in the rebuke, and had we known of it before, the whole affair would have been avoided.

The Patriarch, during further conversation, remarked that we came to him as a mission; but as we were not ourselves going to commence the work in opening schools, we should oblige him by writing to our Church, and requesting them to send a priest who has the power to do so. "I will then enter into correspondence with your Church; but it must be distinctly understood that we do not embrace strange doctrines, as the other Chaldeans did." He then inquired further into the mode of worship of the Church of England, her bishops and clergymen, churches, schools, &c., and the answers given were evidently very pleasing to him. He said, "We had heard about the English nation, but we were ignorant about their Church." Some of the clergy present then put some questions concerning the marriage of the priesthood. We told them that if a priest's wife dies there is no opposition made to his taking another. "This," they said, "is exactly like us, yet we thought that we were the only Christians who allow their clergy

to marry again after they lose their wives." They then again referred to the discipline of the Congregationalists. They said, "We do not know what kind of Christians these English are. Their whole liturgy and communion appears to consist in singing psalms, and they use no ecclesiastical dress. This appears to us very curious, because, from most ancient times, discipline and liturgies were adopted in all the Christian Churches; and there cannot exist a Church, strictly so speaking, that remains divested (naked) of all ecclesiastical rites." Poor people! in their primitive simplicity and remote seclusion, how little do they know of the diversity, which motives of conscience among some, but the love of novelty, the ambition of distinction, or the spirit of opposition to existing institutions, among others, has produced in other parts of the world! Mr. Rassam informed them, that if one of these ministers joined the Church of England he must be ordained, as the Church considered them as people who had no apostolic ordination. The Patriarch said, "I have given to them permission to open schools, but the children must go to church and learn our doctrine."

Mr. Rassam asked the Patriarch about printing a copy of the New Testament, and whether there was any particular copy that he might wish. He said, "There is one translation only; let that be printed correctly." He expressed his gratitude at the proposal of the Society, and what he was pleased to call "these great undertakings."

We spoke to him about writing a letter, which he promised to do, and send it the next day, but he failed in this, and upon being reminded, said to Mr. Rassam,

"I do not know exactly what to say; you know my feelings, I am grateful and anxious for the friendship of your bishops, and wish that you would write for me, what you consider proper and decent." This, however, I thought proper to advise Mr. Rassam not to do, and the Patriarch ultimately promised to send us the letter to Mosul.

Able as the bishop is in the difficult government of his own tribes, among whom it is often a most responsible task to preserve harmony and settle differences, and his hair already gray with the care and anxiety attendant upon the labours of a temporal, combined with a spiritual government, he has neither time nor the habit of epistolary correspondence, as was, indeed, privately suggested to us, and which may be still further gathered from the tenor of a letter written to Dr. Grant, on his safe arrival at Urimiyeh.

"With prayer and blessing. My heart went with you, O Doctor, in the day that you went from me, but after I heard that you had arrived in safety, I greatly rejoiced. If you inquire of my affairs, and what I have to say, it is that word which we spoke. What I said to you before is what I have to say now. You and I are one: and there is no change touching the things you heard from me. And again may you be a blessing, and blessed with the blessings of God, and the words of salvation; and may He give you joyful seasons and length of years, and remove and keep you from troubles and disquietudes."

At one time during our conversation, the Patriarch retired to hold a consultation with his brother; it was of short duration, and probably related to the feelings

with which the Kurds might view such an alliance, but a moment's consideration sufficed to convince them that it was not of a nature to interfere with local political arrangements; and that, at all events, they were always in a condition to assert their own free will, and to maintain their religious and national rights. These subjects having been all discussed at length, Mar Shimon took his departure for the castle of Jemar, his brother remaining to keep us company.

Since I have returned to this country, it is said that the person of the Patriarch has been placed under detention by the Turks, no doubt by the assistance of Nurulah, Kurd bey of the Hakkari, notorious for his shameful murder of poor Schultze, who was the first European after Tavernier to visit the fortress of Julamerik.

This chieftain had foreseen that the changes occurring in the East, must sooner or later cause his country to fall under the domination of a stronger power than his, but above all he disliked the position in which he stood with regard to the Patriarch of the Chaldeans, over whom he claimed superiority, and yet whom he could not dictate to. He had thus been led to barter his independence for a recognition of his power by Hafiz Pasha of Erzrum, and had returned backed by the influence of Turkey, at once to keep in control his own restless predatory tribes, and also to extinguish the power of the Patriarch, of which he had always been extremely jealous. From the new ties of friendship that the Christian bishop had been lately and suddenly entering into, with the English on the one hand, and the Americans of Urimiyeh on the other, his enmity now burst into an

open flame, and ultimately led to the Patriarch being betrayed into the hands of the Turks. As far as I am concerned, I extremely regret that the mission I was engaged in, should have hastened a catastrophe, painful in itself, and calculated, unless timely assistance and consolation, and strengthening advice is given to the mountaineers, to subvert that sacred independence which has withstood so many ages of trial and persecution, and to sap the ancient institutions of their glorious Church to the very foundations. I grieve for it the more especially as nothing has yet been done (except lately sending out the Rev. Mr. Badger) towards fulfilling the objects for which we were sent to these countries, and the hopes of friendly co-operation which we were privileged to hold out to them. With regard to the American Missionaries, I can only say, that there is no doubt that their long residence at Urimiyeh had before led them to turn their eyes towards the interesting mountaineers of interior Kurdistan, but still it is very remarkable that no mission was spoken of among these mountaineers till after our arrival at Constantinople*, that, unauthorized, on account of the apprehended dangers, to approach Julamerik from Urimiyeh, Dr. Grant of that mission, started the long journey to Constantinople, which he performed hastily and "with as much expedition as possible," in the midst of the winter snows. He there associated himself with the Rev. Mr. Holmes, who left him at Mardin, on account of the troubled state of the

* It was not till February, 1839, when we were at Angora, in our way to Chaldea, that Dr. Grant received his instructions to proceed to the mountaineers.

country, consequent on the battle of Nizib, and which drove us back upon Constantinople, while it enabled Dr. Grant, who had simple instructions to proceed at once to the Chaldeans, to reach them before us that summer, and to cross afterwards by Persian Kurdistan to the mission at Urimiyeh. The Doctor then advanced again from the Persian side into the mountains, in the month of May, 1840, a month before us, bearing valuable presents from the missions to the Patriarch and his brother, to their female relatives, to many of the priests, and to some of the Kurd beys.

This sudden interest, so explicitly and so actively shown on the part of other Christian nations, towards a tribe of people, who have almost solely prolonged their independent existence on account of their remote seclusion, and comparative insignificance, has called them forth into new importance in the eyes of the Mohammedans, and will undoubtedly be the first step to their overthrow, unless they are assisted in such an emergency by sound advice, or the friendly interference of the representatives of brotherly Christian nations at Constantinople*. It will be the most cruel thing imaginable, to have excited so much attention from surrounding powers towards the condition of these able, courageous, and pious mountaineers, only to leave them to the tender mercies of Mohammedanism.

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* A single word from our Ambassador at Constantinople might probably effect the restoration of the Patriarch to his flock, if unopposed by the Papists, who have an interest in the thraldom of the Chaldeans.

CHAPTER XL.

The Chaldeans as a Nation. Assumed Israelitish origin of the Chaldeans. Jewish Testimonies. Halah, Habor, Reseph, and Haran of Scriptures. Jewish origin of the Syrian Christians. Language and Name. Rites and Rituals. Physiognomy of the Chaldeans. Manners and Customs. Early Converts in the East to Christianity. Non-conversion of the Ten Tribes.

Let us now for a moment turn to the consideration of who and what these Chaldeans are, that we may be better able to appreciate their claims upon our interest, and the demands (if we have any warmth and energy as brethren in Christ) they have upon us, for succour in distress, and help in time of need.

As far as my information goes, and as far as Mr. Rassam, who is a native of the country, could ever trace the remote traditions of his countrymen, they consider themselves as Chaldeans, and descendants of the ancient Chaldeans of Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia, driven by the persecutions of Mohammedanism to their present mountain fastnesses, to which their Patriarch also retired on the advance of Popery.

It has lately been attempted, in an elaborate essay by Dr. Grant*, to prove that these Chaldeans are of Jewish origin, and a remnant of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel. The enthusiasm of the Americans in searching for these lost tribes, even among the Indian races of their

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* *The Nestorians, or, The Lost Tribes*, &c. By Asahel Grant, M.D. London.

own country, is well known, and has been properly designated by Milman* as amounting in such cases to a wild spirit of romance.

The existence of the Chaldeans within the districts to which the captive tribes were dispersed, lends in this case some savour to the argument; but when all the circumstances in connection with the subject are taken into consideration, it really possesses little more intrinsic value than if it were applied to any of the other nations dwelling in the same land, or even than the identity sought to the captive tribes in the extreme west of the New World.

The facts themselves are simple. Here is a nation calling itself Chaldean, speaking a mixed Chaldean and Syrian dialect, as a corruption of its mother tongue, and which is known historically to have been altered with their assumption of Christianity, living in and near to ancient Chaldea, and what the whole Roman Catholic Church has admitted as such; but all these facts not being sufficiently distinct or satisfactory, or the delight of labouring among so interesting a remnant of early and unsullied Christianity, not being in itself enough to satisfy that morbid desire for striking novelties and wondrous discoveries which has such a charm for our transatlantic brethren, it has been attempted to assign to the residue of an ancient nation, a Hebrew origin.

While the facts themselves are so very simple, the arguments in favour of the opposite opinion are of a nature most difficult to approach or to grapple with, as they depend mainly upon a positive impression received

* *History of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 247.

by their author that the Chaldeans themselves acknowledge their Jewish origin, and that the Jews on their side acknowledge their fraternity—two facts totally at variance with all my experience; but according to a high authority on these matters the existence even of a partial tradition to that effect ought not to be considered satisfactory, for the Rev. Dr. Wolf, who visited Afghanistan with the hope of finding there the Ten Tribes, when disappointed in that hope, summed up the evidence by saying, "My doubts about the Afghans being descendants of the Jews are these: they have not the Jewish physiognomy, and the tradition of their being Jews *is not general*, and finally, their language does not resemble the Hebrew."

It is very true, that in the present state of knowledge as to the physical history of mankind it was quite unnecessary to suppose that the Ten Tribes are "absorbed in the nations among whom they settled," but it is quite another question whether we are without the strongest and most conclusive evidence to destroy a nation to give room for them, for if it is finally resolved that the Chaldeans are Jews, what has become of the ancient Chaldeans? They were as powerful and more numerous than the Jews of the Captivity; their name is preserved to the present day in their own country; yet we wish to deprive them of nationality and existence to make way for a population of prisoners, who are thus made to have usurped their country, their name, and their language!

The solitary attempt to derive proof from historical records of a tradition said by Dr. Grant to be general, is peculiarly weak. "Priest Dunka," says Dr. Grant, "who has been long employed as an assistant in this

mission, and sustains a character for veracity, and we hope for consistent piety, assures me he saw, near Mosul, a history in which it was expressly stated that they, the Nestorians, were Beni Israel (the children of Israel)." It is a remarkable fact, that if this nation is really of Israelitish descent, they should have no written document attesting the fact, and the argument that such a record is unnecessary, as the fact is handed down by tradition, would apply itself equally to prove that every other nation has no necessity to preserve the annals of its origin and descent. The Jews of Amadiyeh told us that they had a tradition that they had been there nearly from the time of the Captivity; the Chaldeans said nothing of the kind, but Dr. Grant says they have a tradition that their forefathers, at some early day, came to the region now occupied by them from the land of Palestine.

Dr. Grant admits the first fact: "Dispersed," he says, "through the country of the Nestorians, and surrounding them on every side, are some thousands of nominal Jews, still adhering to Judaism, who claim to be a part of the Ten Tribes carried away captive by the kings of Assyria." This being the case, surely the Ten Tribes were not so numerous, that without the most especial and conclusive evidence, (which what is designated "the reluctant testimony" of these ignorant Jews can be scarcely considered to be,) we should be obliged to sacrifice a whole nation to clear up the history of their dispersion! One of the greatest errors that can possibly occur in collecting information in the East, appears to have been uniformly committed by Dr. Grant, that of asking leading questions, by which the preconceived

views of a traveller, however absurd, or any theory that he has to support, however romantic, can be made to meet with the most extraordinary illustration. Thus, the Doctor says of the Jews, that in giving their testimony "they will sometimes prevaricate, and finally give only an equivocal answer, when questioned upon the subject. This they do to avoid the *main question*, whether their early ancestors were the same." Two Jews of Urimiyeh once asserted the same thing to the Doctor, in the presence of two Chaldean bishops; they even asserted that they had records containing an account of the time and circumstances of their conversion to Christianity; "but as they did not themselves possess them, it was not in their power to furnish me with a sight of these historical manuscripts. Indeed, they appeared to feel, when I asked them for a sight of their records, that they had already gone too far in what they had said." The testimony of the Rabbi was rather that the Chaldeans apostatized from the Jewish faith, than that they were Jews. Mr. Stocking's testimony was obtained in a more circumstantial manner; it goes to show that while the Jews do not acknowledge to have learnt Chaldean from the Chaldees, they at the same time allow that the Chaldeans did not learn their language from them, but rather that they themselves were Chaldean Jews.

The discussion on the places of the captivity of the lost tribes displays a lamentable want of comprehensiveness in comparative geography. It is sufficient to say, that assuming the definition of the Alexandrian geographer (Ptolemy) as that admitted throughout all ages, the author identifies Assyria with Kurdistan! to at

once indicate, if such is the highest generalization, how confined and narrow will be the limits of the discussed details.

First in order comes Halah, which scholars are long agreed upon is the same as the Calah of Genesis; this, without even condescending to notice the learned and elaborate identifications of Rennell and Major Rawlinson, of that place with the modern Holwan, the author places, on the authority of St. Ephraim and the later Syrians, at Hatareh, which is a poor village of Izedis, with about thirty cottages, and not a ruin, nor a hewn stone that bears signs of antiquity, in the neighbourhood. This I say from personal examination.

The next identification to suit the argument is of the Habor or Chebar of Scripture with the Khabur of Zakho. The author has here a vantage ground, in the existence of two Khaburs in Assyria, strictly speaking, (not the Assyria of Ptolemy and Dr. Grant,) of which he could naturally take his choice. The rest of the learned world are, however, agreed with the Greeks and Romans in considering the Khabur of the Euphrates, the Chaboras of Xenophon, and a second-rate river, (the Khabur of Zakhu being a fourth-rate river,) as corresponding to the Habor of antiquity.

Gozan is a pasture, and therefore the same as Zozan, the pastures of Kurdistan; but there are also many pastures on the Chaboras. We find in 2 Kings xix. 12, that Gozan is mentioned in conjunction with Haran and Rezeph, and all these places were in the Assyria of Scripture. Haran, the Carrhæ of the Romans, on the banks of the "Royal River" of Strabo, still preserves its name, by the side of the Seruj of Scriptures, after-

wards Betuna and Batnæ, and Rezeph, the Resapha of Ptolemy, still exists as a ruined town of marble on the road from Palmyra to Thapsacus; while, therefore, there is every reason to believe that Gozan was at or near the Chaboras, so also there is herein proof, that the Assyria of Scripture had a wider meaning than is allowed to it by Dr. Grant.

It is attested by Jewish history, that part of the captive tribes resided many centuries in Adiabene. There is no objection to this positive historical fact, the first that we meet with in the argument, and the remains of these captive Jews are still to be sought for in the Jews of the country, or the Izedis. Adiabene, as a Roman province, had always reference to the plain of Gangamela and Arbela, and never encroached upon the region of Zabdicene, in which Amadiyeh, even at the outskirts of the mountains, is situated; and still less to the interior fastnesses of Gordyene. But supposing that the population of Izedis, which on the west and east bank of the Tigris is very considerable, and equally so, according to Rawlinson, near the Halah of Scripture, is not sufficient to represent the Ten Tribes, we have still a population of 20,000 nominal Jews scattered around the ancient Adiabene; but such is the passion of the author of *The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes*, to see a Jew in every face, and sacrifice whole nations to a theory, that he is not content with arguing the Jewish origin of the Chaldeans and Izedis, but he would also bring into the same category twenty to forty thousand Syrian Christians, whom, he says, have many traits in common with the Nestorians!

It certainly appears to us that there is nothing half

so practical, nor so touching, in all these researches as the simple lament which we found inscribed on the walls of Hatra, in the deserts of Assyria, and not far from the Habor.

If then it is impossible to coincide with the author in the preliminary limitation given to the empire of Assyria of the Scriptures and of profane historians, it is unnecessary to enter into the testimonies, proving that the Ten Tribes have not removed from Assyria; admitting this, then, the author proceeds, "The Ten Tribes were carried into Assyria. The time of their return is still future. They are, therefore, in Assyria at the present time. Now the Nestorians are the only people in Assyria who can be identified with the Ten Tribes, and consequently they must be their descendants." Here preference is given to the Nestorians over even the Jews themselves, naturally still more over the Izedis.

We proceed to examine the internal evidence, or the proof existing among themselves of their Israelitish origin. The first of these appealed to by Dr. Grant is their language. Now, as has been already remarked, the Chaldeans of the present day use several dialects of mixed Chaldean and Syriac; but since their conversion to Christianity they have uniformly adopted the Syriac letters, which were used by the Apostles and fathers of the Church, regarding the Tergum, or Pagan writing, as they term it, as an abomination. The Jews, however, who learnt it in their captivity*, have

* Pritchard remarks truly, in his *Natural History of Man*, that the Aramean or Syrian language, in which he includes the Chaldee, was the original language of the Hebrews, until the Abramidæ occupied

retained, except in the Talmud and some other works written in the Hebrew character, the use of Chaldean letters.

The Jews of Chaldea, having learnt the language of the natives of the country in which they dwelt, now speak a dialect or dialects of the language spoken by the Chaldeans; but it is evidently a breach of logic to argue from this circumstance of the Chaldeans speaking, in return, a dialect or dialects similar to that used by the Jews, and which is not the mother tongue of the latter, that they are one and the same people; yet is this made a leading argument in the testimonies of the Jewish origin of the Chaldeans!

The author argues, from the present absence of intercourse between the Jews and Chaldeans, that they could not have learnt the language of one another, and further, points out that the Syriac is neither the original language of the Chaldees nor the Jews. But in the first place, Mr. Rassam, who is acquainted with the Chaldean and Syriac languages, always asserted to me, that the language of the Chaldeans is a Syro-Chaldean dialect, and not a Syrian dialect, and the Jews say the same thing. Speaking of the Aramæan or Syrian language, Pritchard says, "The Syriac of the versions, and the Chaldee of the late Scriptures of the Old Testament, and of the Targums, are specimens of the language from early times; and according to their own

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the Promised Land in Canaan, and adopted, as it would appear, fro its previous inhabitants, the Canaanitish, or proper Hebrew, for the Hebrew is also but a branch of the language common to the Semitic nations.

testimony, the Chaldees learnt and adopted what they have of Syriac when they became followers of Christ, just as the Chaldeans of the plain, who are Roman Catholics, now speak Arabic; there is no doubt that they are both aliens to the mountains of Kurdistan." The Syriac was the language in which our Saviour conversed upon earth, and was at that day the general language of Palestine and Syria, and from the which the Chaldee, a branch of the Aramean tongue, scarcely differed more than one dialect from another. There is nothing, therefore, extraordinary in the Jews, who may have learnt it before the Captivity, and the Chaldees, who learnt it with Christianity, speaking dialects of the same tongue; but to say, that the circumstance of the Chaldeans speaking Syriac proves their Israelitish origin. is as if we said the same of the Syrians themselves.

The names of Beni Israel and Nazareans are noticed as favouring the idea of their Jewish origin. The first, Dr. Grant says, is not unfrequently used by the Nestorians; the second, Mr. Southgate says, is a term used in Mosul to designate all the Christians in that vicinity, and seems to be used somewhat in the same general sense as the word Gentile.

The name of Syrians was given to the Chaldeans, according to Dr. Grant, from the use of the Syriac liturgy; the name of Chaldeans expresses their relation to Abraham, who was from Ur of the Chaldees; and the name of Nestorian, he admits, is repudiated by the Chaldeans, yet he excuses himself for applying it to them on the curious grounds, that, throughout Protestant Christendom, the name of Nestorian is justly honoured, and there seems to be no good reason for

discarding it at this late day, established, as it is, by long conventional usage, and interwoven with the history of the Church and the world.

The observance by the Chaldeans of certain rites and customs, supposed to be peculiar to the Jews, has been considered as furnishing strong evidence of their Hebrew origin; but it would be necessary, to substantiate the validity of such an argument, to prove that their origin is not heathen, to show that they are not practised by other nations, who, prior to being converted to Christianity, were placed under nearly similar circumstances, and, lastly, to render it manifest that they are not also in existence at the present moment among other nations, whether Pagan, Mohammedan, or Christian. Thus it is sufficient, with regard to sacrifices, to show that they are also practised by Pagans and even Christian Armenians, who are not of Jewish origin, to do away with the whole force of the argument. There is no doubt that vows belong more to the ceremonial law than to the Gospel, but still they are in far too general acceptation and use to be admitted as a proof of origin. The presentation of first fruits is common throughout the East; the sacredness of the Sabbath, so far as even to killing for breaking it, may be founded on great Christian zeal, combined with a fierce energy of character, as much as upon Jewish statutes. The sanctuary of the temple, if not as much as with the Chaldeans, is still highly venerated, and defiled by intrusion, in the other Eastern churches. The observances with regard to clean and unclean food are equally held by Mohammedans. The Passover is more or less celebrated, as well as many other Israelitish fasts and festivals, in an indirect manner,

by most Christian churches; in fact, if the admission of any statute or law, rite or ritual, inculcated by the Old Testament, and not either positively sanctioned or yet spoken against in the New Testament, was to constitute an argument by which to trace an Hebrew origin to a people, it is evident that many such peculiarities could be found, characterizing institutions which are regarded as strictly orthodox in regard to their truly Christian character, and which yet admit the authority of the Old Testament.

While the Kurds are characterized by their dark hair, small eyes, large mouth, prominent nose, and, like the Affghans, by the military affectation of their carriage and by their haughty insolent demeanour, the Chaldean, whose appearance is most characteristic, has a fair complexion, gray eye, and red beard, an open countenance, robust, broad shouldered, but often a slouching gait, and seldom a wild or fierce expression of countenance. The Jews of Kurdistan have mostly black hair, a spare form, sleek pale countenance, and aquiline nose. Such, at least, are the general results of our experience, taking the Jews of Amadiyeh and Beitannuri, and the Chaldeans of Tiyari and Hakkari, as our type. Dr. Grant, on the contrary, asserts, that the likeness of the two is so great, that he was not able to discriminate the one from the other*.

* "The Jews," says Dr. Pritchard, in his *Natural History of Man*, "have assimilated in physical characters to the nations among whom they have long resided." In the northern countries of Europe they are fair or xanthous. Blue eyes and flaxen hair are seen in English Jews, and in some parts of Germany the red beards of the Jews are very conspicuous. The Jews of Portugal are very dark; and of

That the Chaldeans of old, who come from the land which was that of Terah and Abraham, before the Lord gave Canaan to Abraham and his seed, should be still characterized by such names as recall to them their very great antiquity, and circumstances in which they take at once a pride of ancestry and of religion, is not at all surprising; nor is it more surprising, if, among names endeared to them as those of the descendants of Abraham, we should also find some of other nations, as of Melchisedek*, who blessed Abram, or those of Solomon, of David, or of Joseph. The two latter are admitted by the Christians of the West. The most remarkable statement advanced by Dr. Grant occurs, however, in this part of the argument; he says, that the family of the Patriarch claim descent from Naphtali; it is only to be regretted that the records on which they mainly relied for proofs in this case were lost in the Zab about sixty years ago. The use of the term melek, melik, or malek (king), for their civil governors, was at once Hebrew, Chaldean, and Syrian. The Hebrews, also, were not the only nation governed by an hierarchy.

It is well known that there are few social and domestic customs mentioned in the Bible to which we

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those in India, their residence in Cochin appears to have been from ancient times, and they are now black, and so completely like the native inhabitants in their complexions, that Dr. Buchanan says he could not always distinguish them from the Hindoos. Does this prove that the Hindoos are of Jewish origin? It has been truly remarked, that the Jews who are wanderers over the whole world, are perhaps now more numerous than were ever their forefathers.

* "Christ Jesus is a priest after the order of Melchisedek."—Hebrews vii. 1, *et seq.*

cannot find a parallel, or, at least, a tolerable similitude, among some of the various nations of the East, and thus we have had lately an able volume illustrative of Biblical identities and similitudes existing among the ancient Egyptians, and scarcely a traveller in modern times pens his tour to Palestine and Syria, without recording some of those numerous similarities of customs which still exist among the various tribes of those countries, and which call forcibly to his mind what he has before read in the Bible. Any arguments to be derived from the existence of similarity of such customs among proximate Oriental nations, and especially among the descendants of the second family of Abraham, can thus only be received with the utmost caution, and we shall not, therefore, detain the reader with the enumeration given by Dr. Grant of a number of Chaldean customs as Hebraic, which any one conversant with the East will immediately recognise as common to nations of the most opposed faith and various origin.

What is calculated to excite most general surprise, if not incredulity, in the whole of this investigation, is, that if these Chaldeans were ever Jews, they should be now converted to Christianity. It is true that this event has been predicted, but that only when the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in; and this partial conversion of the tribes of Judea is a thing against all antecedent, and without an existing parallel. The Jews of the Captivity, even if some few of them were present and heard the Gospel on the day of Pentecost, were in countries far away from the land in which our Saviour preached and our Redeemer was crucified. The tribes of Adiabene, Assyria, Armenia, and Parthia, who were the objects of

the labours of the apostles and fathers of the Church, Thomas, Matthew, Thaddeus, and others, were the natives of those countries; if it had been otherwise, and they only visited these distant realms to preach to the Jews that dwelt there, it would have been so especially recorded; but Thomas is said to have preached the Gospel to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, &c., and so it is also distinctly recorded of the other fathers. There is only the authority of Eusebius, who states, that amid all these nations, it was only the Jews who were at first converted. Admitting for a moment such a supposition, it is preposterous to suppose that the captive tribes covered all Media, Assyria, Babylonia, Elam, Armenia, Parthia, Persia, and Mesopotamia, and these are the countries to which the glad tidings were carried by the early fathers, according to the united testimonies of Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Ambrose, Nicephorus, Baronius, Natalis, and others.

The silence of Scripture with regard to the progress of conversion in the East is a very remarkable thing, but it is mainly to be attributed to the fact that the books of the zealous labourers engaged in those countries are not contained in the Scriptures, and that they laboured at a distance from the Apostolic writers of the New Testament; but this silence, had that conversion extended itself to the Ten Tribes, would scarcely have been persevered in, and such a wondrous event would have met with some distinct and clear enunciation by St. Paul*, and not such dialectic subterfuges as those on

* St. Paul, standing before Agrippa, and acknowledging himself a Christian Jew, said, "And now I stand and am judged for the

which it has been attempted to hang a distant proof of his admitting the fact. The silence of the Romans, of Josephus, and other almost contemporaneous historians, and of all Christianity, upon this great and important fact, is overwhelming evidence against the supposed sudden discovery of the Ten Tribes as a Christian nation by the American missionaries in the nineteenth century.

The Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews has generally been considered as conclusive as to the condition of the Jews in the time of the Apostle, while that of James has been also generally considered as addressed to the believing Jews, who were dispersed all over the world, in contradistinction to the Jews of Palestine, and not as if every member of the twelve tribes was a converted Jew, which is going further than any commentator, except Dr. Grant, has yet ventured to surmise. On the contrary, the most glorious promises that are held out to us all are consequent upon their entire conversion and reception to the full favour of God, and which have not, as yet, been accomplished, nor do any prophecies or passages of Scripture, intimate that the Ten Tribes should have been at so early a time visited in mercy, and led to acknowledge the Messiah. Indeed, such an admission is in opposition to all we experience of the daily intractibility of Jews, and is contrary to the whole history of God's ancient covenant people.

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hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers: unto which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come: for which hope's sake, King Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews:" which at once shows that the twelve tribes were *not* Christians in the time of the Apostle.

CHAPTER XLI.

Chaldeans not Papists. Not Nestorians. Purity of the Chaldean Church Doctrine. Chaldean Bishoprics. Patriarchate of the East. Chaldean Councils. Collections of Canon Law. Ecclesiastical Year. Liturgies. Baptism. Absence of Monastic Institutions. Ignorance of Clergy and Laity. Necessity and importance of Friendly Assistance. Tribes and Villages of Chaldeans. Population.

If then it cannot be satisfactorily shown that the Chaldeans of to-day are the remains of the ten or the two captive tribes of Israel, it is equally faulty, on the part of Protestants, whether missionaries or simple travellers, to perpetuate, under pretences as before given, the name of Nestorians, contemptuously attached to them by the missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church. It was as late as in A.D. 1681 that the Chaldean metropolitan of Diyarbekr, having been gained over by the Jesuits, was consecrated by the Pope, Patriarch of the Chaldeans, while the name of Nestorians was derisively attached to those who adhered to their own ancient Church. The object in doing this, on the part of the Papists, was very evidently to heighten the importance of the conversions effected by their missionaries in the East, and to give to them the appearance of national conversions, but they were too well acquainted with the origin of the Chaldeans not to give them their proper name, instead of claiming them as converts belonging to the ten or twelve tribes of Israel.

It is generally understood in ecclesiastical history that the Chaldeans of Syria and Mesopotamia, and who have perhaps justly been denominated Syro-Chaldeans, withdrew from the communion of the Patriarch of Antioch in the year 485 of the Christian era, and before the time of Nestorius.

Nestorius, according to Socrates, was born in Germanicia, now Marash, and he was then most likely a Greek, as is stated by Amru. He was educated in the neighbouring and celebrated school of Tarsus, and went thence as a presbyter of the Church of Antioch. It is to the present day very doubtful if this great man held the doctrines that are imputed to him. During the heat occasioned by the Arian controversy, the title of Mother of God had been applied to the Virgin Mary, and the Patriarch began to fear that it might lead to the worship of her person; yet in a sermon to the people he told them that "if any well-meaning Christians took a fancy to this title, he would not object, provided they did not make a goddess of the Virgin." "God the Word," said he, in another sermon, "was not different after his incarnation from what He was before. There was still in both but one Person to be adored by every creature." And so in his Epistle to Alexander, bishop of Hierapolis, he says, "Of the two natures there is but one authority, one virtue, one power, and one Person, according to one dignity." In all this it may truly be asked, where is there any heresy? And it would be difficult to say in what it differs from the doctrine of the council that condemned him.

Be this as it may, the Eastern Christians who have been considered as followers of Nestorius reject the title

as a calumny, as we have seen in foregoing pages, and as they rejected it in former times. "Nestorius," said they, "was not our patriarch, but the patriarch of Constantinople. He was a Greek and we are Syrians. We do not even understand his language, nor did he ever propagate his doctrines in our territory. Why should we be called by the name of a new doctor? Our religion is most ancient and apostolic, received from the time of the Apostles who taught among us. If Nestorius believed as we do, he followed us, not we him."

The councils of Nice and Constantinople, and the fathers of the first four centuries, being received and acknowledged, and the doctrines of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon being in fact, though not in name, admitted, it is not among them, but in respect to questions which have been agitated in the Greek and Latin churches, since their separation, that any room exists for controversy.

The Syro-Chaldeans, being the first who separated, ought to be the most free from corruptions of any Christian church. The learned Protestant, La Croze, says, "We find here a Church, which having for more than 1200 years had no intercourse with the communions of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, or Rome, preserves the greater part of the doctrines admitted by the Protestants, and wholly or in part rejected by those Churches. We shall see the Christians of Malabar positively rejecting the supremacy of the Pope, denying transubstantiation, and maintaining that the sacrament of the Eucharist is only the figure of the body of Jesus Christ: add to this, the exclusion of confirmation,

extreme unction, and marriage, from the number of sacraments, the worship of images treated as idolatry, and purgatory regarded as a fable."

The presiding bishop of the Chaldeans is the great primate in the East, the successor of the Archbishops of Seleucia and Ctesiphon; he bears the title of Catholicos, and is considered as the head of the body wherever dispersed.

After the destruction of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the see was removed to Baghdad, where the Catholicos continued to reside till 1258, when the city of the Khalifs was sacked by the Tatars. After various changes occasioned by the turbulence of the times, he removed in 1560 to Mosul on the Tigris, and at the time when Assemani wrote, he was residing in the convent of St. Hormisdas (H'Ormusd), near Al Kosh.

The Catholicos presided at that time over 25 metropolitans and upwards of 200 bishops. Of these metropolitans, Assemani has given an original catalogue published by Amru, who flourished in the twelfth century, and as I have been able to recover a few of these in ancient Chaldea and Assyria, I shall append it here, some being also identified by others before. In Susiana, lately, Major Rawlinson has also considerably extended the number of these identifications.

Abila, or Obolla, near Basra, was sought for and found by the Euphrates Expedition.
Aache, or Aaco; Acre.
Aadin; Aden on the Red Sea.
Aakula; Cupha.
Aleppo.
Amida; Diyarbekr.
Aana; Annah, on the Euphrates.
Anazarba; Ainzarbeh, in the Pyramus. Now in ruins.
Anbar; Pheroz Sapur, on the Euphrates. In ruins.
Arzun; Orzen, now Gharzen on Betlis river.
Astachar; Istakhar, Persepolis. In ruins.
Aspahan; Ispahan.

Bassora; Basrah.
Babylon. In ruins.
Baghdad.
Callinicus; Racca on Euphrates. In ruins.
Carcha; Ctesiphon, Al Coche of the Arabs, called by the Chaldeans, Beth Garma and Beth Seleucia, Coche and Ctesiphon.
Cardu; Al Jezireh on Tigris, also called Gezira.
Cepha Castrum; Hisn Cepha, same as Aakula and Cupha, on Tigris.
Damascus.
Edessa; Urfah.
Euphrates; same as Basrah.
Hadatha; now Haditha on Euphrates.
Hagar; Hadgar, Petra. In ruins.
Hit, on Euphrates.
Haran; Charran, Charræ. In ruins, only a village remaining.
Hierusalem.
Hormaz, Hormuz in Gaban.
Kosra; Babylonia.
Mambug; Mambege, Hierapolis near Aleppo. In ruins.
Mahaldegerd, in Armenia.
Mesene; now Muhammrah on Karun.
Mosul.
Maipherchin, now Maiafarikin.
Marde, now Mardin.
Melitena; Malatiyeh.
Modain; Seleucia and Ctesiphon, Al Madyn of the Arabs. In ruins.
Mopsuestia; now Misis.
Naharwan; Opis. In ruins.
Nicator; Amel Safra. In ruins.
Nilus, or Nila; Babel. In ruins.
Nineveh. In ruins.
Nisibis. In ruins.
Ockbara; Ockbara on Tigris. Now a ruin.
Ormia; Urimiyeh.
Perath Mesene; Basrah.
Raka, Racca, mentioned under Callinicus.
Rahaba, Rehoboth of the Bible, now Rahabah, on the Euphrates.
Resaina, Resen, Larissa, now Nimrud. In ruins on the Great Zab.
Seleucia.
Sina, or Sena, a metropolis; now Kohrasar, in ruins in Upper Mesopotamia. Sinna of Ptolemy. Sometimes Marsnia of Chaldeans.
Schiraz.
Sered; Sert.
Sinjar.
Susa.
Sustra; Shuster.
Tabriz.
Tarsus.
Tekrit (Tagrit) on Tigris.
Tirhan; Teheran.
Van.
Vaseta; Wasit in Babylonia.
Zabde; Al Jezireh. Bezabde of Romans. Zabdicene of Ammianus Marcellinus.

Throughout the list there is a great deal of repetition; many of the names, although subjected to the Romish Patriarch of Mosul, were not recognised by him, and to perfect it would require much sifting.

The Patriarch of the East has now only one metropolitan, Andisho Andishiyah, or Ishiyah, metropolitan of Berrawi; but several bishops, concerning all of whom it is evident that I obtained hurried and incorrect information from one of the priests. Among them are Mar Yuhannah, bishop of Al Jezireh; Mar Yumna, bishop of Gawilen; Mar Yusef, bishop of Dahara; Mar Elias, bishop of Guj Teppeh; Mar Gabriel, bishop of Ardishar; and it appears from what I can gather from Dr. Grant, that the Jellu, Dez, and other tribes, have also, as might be anticipated, their bishops*.

It is remarkable that Assemani states, that the Patriarch is elected by a council of metropolitans and bishops convened by the sees according to their priority, while Mr. Rassam assures me that the office is hereditary; and, so far as succession in one family is concerned, this is also affirmed by Dr. Walsh. It appears that the uncle is generally succeeded by the nephew.

The apostolic succession being thus preserved among these Eastern Christians, a succession which, from the middle of the fifth century, has had not the slightest connexion with either the Greek or Latin Churches, it is evident that they, like ourselves, are possessed of that authority by which errors can be redressed and abuses

* Dr. Grant says, that four years ago three Chaldean bishops visited the Patriarch from the region to the north-west of the river Khabur.

rectified. Their nominal rejection of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon has preserved them from the extravagant opinion that councils are infallible, and they are more likely then to listen to reason if their own councils have erred.

The Syro-Chaldeans held provincial councils twice a year till the year of our Lord, 499. It was then decided that the bishops should meet under their metropolitans only once a year, and that the general councils under the Catholicos, which had assembled every two years, should thenceforth assemble every fourth year, in the month of October, unless specially convened by him for some necessary cause. The same change with regard to provincial councils was afterwards introduced into the Greek Church.

It has been already observed, that the canons, called Apostolic, are received by all the Oriental Christians. The same remark applies to that collection of canons, which are usually called the Arabic Nicene, Latin translations of which are to be found in the great collection of councils*. These are held in singular veneration all over the East. The Syro-Chaldeans, Armenians, Syro-Jacobites and Egyptians, whether Jacobites or Melchites, formerly believed that they were composed by the Nicene fathers; they consequently form the basis of the canon law of each communion, with the addition of such canons as have been framed since the schism occasioned by the councils of Ephesus (A.D. 431) and Chalcedon (A.D. 451).

* *Acta Conciliorum*, Ed. LABBE et COSSART.

Of the Syro-Chaldeans there are fourteen Collections of Canon Law, the names and dates of which are:—

1 Simeon, Metropolitan of Persia, about A.D. 655.
2 Anan Jesus I. Catholicos, A.D. 685.
3 Jesubochtos, Metropolitan of Persia, about A.D. 700.
4 Sabar Jesus II., surnamed Damascinus, Catholicos, A.D. 832.
5 Abraham II. Catholicos, A.D. 836.
6 Theodosius Catholicos, A.D. 852.
7 Gabriel, Metropolitan of Bosrah, A.D. 890.
8 Elias, Metropolitan of Damascus, A.D. 900.
9 George, Metropolitan of Mosul, A.D. 960.
10 Ebed Jesus, Metropolitan of Mosul, A.D. 1028.
11 Abu-l-Pharage Abdallah Ben-Atib, A.D. 1040.
12 Elias, Metropolitan of Nisibis, A.D. 1050.
13 Ebed Jesus II. Benared, Catholicos, A.D. 1074.
14 Ebed Jesus, Metropolitan of Soba or Nisibis, A.D. 1300.

Among the Syro-Chaldeans the divine services are all celebrated in Syriac, which they learnt from the celebrated ecclesiastical school of Edessa. Wherever dispersed, the epistle and gospel are first read in Syriac, and sometimes in the language of the country afterwards. The oldest liturgy in use among them is called the Liturgy of the Apostles. Their ecclesiastical year commences with the four Sundays of the Annunciation, corresponding with our Advent. Then follow the Festivals of the Nativity and Epiphany. The Circumcision and Presentation in the Temple are not observed. There are eight Sundays after Epiphany, and then follows the season of humiliation corresponding with our Lent. The seventh week of that season is called the Great Week. Then comes the Festival of the Resurrection, and five Sundays after; then the Ascension, and then Pentecost or Whit-Sunday. The first six Sundays

after Pentecost are called the Sundays of the Apostles; the next six, the Sundays of the Seventy-two Disciples; the following six are called the Sundays of Elias. The Sundays of Moses are more or less in number, so as to occupy the whole of the month of October. The remaining Sundays, till the four of the Annunciation preceding the Nativity, are called the Sundays of Dedication. It is evident from this example, that the same system of dividing the ecclesiastical year prevails, with but little variation, wherever the religion of Christ is known.

"Among all the Syrians," says Le Brun, "and almost throughout Asia, we find the same order in the liturgies and almost the same prayers; the same at least in sense, if not expressed in the same terms. The liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem, which all attribute to St. James, has been ever considered as the canon or common rule, to which all other liturgies are to be referred. The whole caste has also the liturgy of St. Basil (St. Basil was metropolitan of Cappadocia, from whence the Armenians received their episcopal succession and also their liturgy). These two liturgies have been written in Greek and Syriac; in Greek for the great cities, such as Antioch, where, in the fourth and fifth centuries Greek was spoken, and in Syriac for all the rest of the country."

The Syro-Chaldeans have no exorcism, and do not permit lay-baptism. Infants are baptized and sponsors are admitted; but baptism is not administered before the fortieth day after their birth, unless they are in danger of death. The priest stands on the west side of the font, turns the child's face to the east, and then dips him in

the water, saying, "It is baptized in the name of the Father (*Resp.* Amen), and of the Son (*R.* Amen), and of the Holy Ghost (*R.* Amen)." One of their writers, Ebed Jesus, bishop of Soba, thus speaks of the essentials of baptism. "Its matter is pure water, according to that which is said, 'Except a man be born again of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Its form is Baptism in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, according to the word of our Saviour."

It has been advanced by the most eminent traveller of the present age (De Humboldt), that certain climates, more especially alpine districts, where but a brief interval of sunshine alternates with storms, and where the ruggedness of nature begets sternness and moroseness in mankind, are most favourable to the propagation of a religion of asceticism and monastic seclusion. But here, in the heart of Kurdistan, where snow-clad rocks perpetually frown down upon secluded vales—where giant precipices seem almost to defy mankind to venture upon intercommunication—where waters, instead of meandering through flowery meads, pour in resistless torrents over their stony beds—where clouds, unknown at certain seasons in the plains, almost perpetually obscure the fair face of the heavens or dwell upon the mountain tops—and where the universal aspect of nature is sterile, forbidding, and austere—the benign influence of a kindly religion, and the simple forms of a primitive church, have preserved a people from self-sacrifices, unavailing to God and injurious to society. The Chaldean church neither inculcates seclusion nor celibacy among its clergy; its only purification is fasting, so strongly

enjoined on all Christians; and, in order that in this point their bishops—whose dignity is hereditary—may be without stain, they are not allowed to partake of flesh-meat either before or after their ordination.

But if the influences of climate and soil, combined with the peculiarities of position with regard to neighbouring races of men, on the moral and intellectual development of the Chaldeans, are modified in one direction by religion, it is much to be regretted that in another they have exercised full sway, allowing the passions too frequently to obtain the ascendant over morality and religion. The hardy mountaineer knows but a single step from the toils of travel or the chase to an expedition of war and extermination*.

Thus the character of the Chaldean, besides perhaps retaining the impression of early persecutions, has undoubtedly been affected by position, by the influences of nature, and by the vicinity of warlike and predatory tribes, maintaining hostile creeds; but it is still more influenced by a very simple and easily remediable defect, namely, that with the forms and practice of worship they are not taught to understand the Gospel.

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* Mr. Rich, who was many years Resident at Baghdad, writing unfortunately from the testimony of Turks, described the Chaldeans under the very worst possible light, whereas they are undoubtedly, in every point of view, the best people in Western Asia. They will fight, it is true, but only for their hard-earned independence, or in revenge of Mohammedan persecution. Mr. Rich says, "The most savage and independent tribes of Hakkari are the Chaldeans, . . . who live in a barbarous state;" . . . "a ferocious, vindictive, and capricious set," according to the Prince of Bahdinan's reports to Mr. Rich's tatar, who was the first Turk to penetrate into their country.

In a country where none can read but the priests, it is most essential that attention should be given to the instruction of the people in the humanizing precepts so characteristic of, and so peculiar to Christianity. It is not the fault of the laity, for they are regular attendants at church, but of the priests solely, who partly chant and partly mumble through a liturgy of great beauty and excellence, and through the ennobling lessons of the New Testament, in so unintelligible a manner, that no practical advantages can be derived from them. And it is to be remarked here that the Old Syriac in which the liturgies and Testament are written, differs also much from the Syriac dialect at present used by the mountaineers. Certain prayers are familiar to all, but they have little moral effect. Many persons piously disposed retire to a corner of the church to pray in privacy, and I have often observed that such persons adhere also to the old Oriental practice of frequent prostrations, a form not observed by the clergy; but there is no plain distinct enunciation of the precepts and practice of our Saviour or of his Apostles. There is no sermon or lecture to expound difficulties of doctrine, to awaken reflection, or to sustain faith by convincing the intellect: thus the main body of Chaldeans are only nominal Christians, and must remain so till assistance be sent to them from more favoured nations. Left to themselves and without education the people have deteriorated, and with the carelessness and ignorance of the laity, have come laxity and superficiality among the clergy.

It would be a great injustice, however, to these mountaineers, were I not to acknowledge that they are superior in intelligence and in moral worth to the

inhabitants (Christian and Mohammedan) of the same classes in Anatolia, in Syria, and Mesopotamia. There are some forms of society, and many decencies of life belonging to improved civilization, that are omitted by the mountaineers; but, there is no doubt that they are, as a race, more quick and impressible, more open, candid, sincere, and courageous, than the inhabitants of the before-mentioned countries. Their bearing is erect, but without the swagger of the Turk; their eye firm, but without ferocity; their forehead ample and high, unclouded by suspicion and evil feelings.

But this slight superiority over neighbouring nations gives them no claim to be looked upon as a people enjoying all the real benefits of the Church to which they belong; their general demeanour and tone, their implacability towards their enemies, and many points in the daily conduct of life, are not only not consonant with, but are severely reprobated by, the religion which they profess to follow. The origin of the demoralization and of the religious and intellectual prostration of this remarkable people, was beyond the control of man, and was primarily connected with those many revolutions with which it has pleased the Almighty to visit Eastern nations; but the present existence and continuance of this state of things is evidently to be attributed to the want of communication with other nations, and to the neglect of education among the clergy as well as the people; and it is sincerely to be hoped that the same day that these facts shall be clearly felt and fully appreciated, will see commence the future regeneration and humanization of one of the most interesting and most

remarkable, yet little known people, that are to be met with on the earth's surface.

It is an agreeable reflection, that the power to rectify their error, if any such exist, lies with themselves, and that they are therefore open to the best and surest means of doing good—friendly and brotherly advice, offered by one who never (as an esteemed authority writes) considers those corruptions as heresies which do not actually tend to destroy the Christian faith. The exercise of such liberality is truly labouring not to increase the power of any particular sect, but to unite the Church throughout the world in brotherly love and sound doctrine.

The tribes of the Chaldean Christians, who are named after the districts in which they live, as far as I could ascertain, through the medium of Mr. Rassam and Davud, are—1. The Tiyari; 2. The Tobi; 3. Jellawi; 4. Piniyaniski; 5. Al Toshi; 6. Artoshi Bashi; 7. Bazi; 8. Sati; 9. Oramari; 10. Julamergi; 11. Jellu; 12. Dez; 13. Siliyahi; 14. Berrawi. Dr. Grant, however, alludes also to the Tehoma, which I suspect is the Chaldean name for the Al Toshi, and which appears to have been given to me in Arabic.

The Christian villages belonging to these tribes, as far as I was able to ascertain, were as follows:—

1. *Berrawi.* Bebal, Ankari, Malaktah, Halwa, Bismiyah, Duri, Iyat, Aina Nuni, Derishki, Mayah, Akushta, Misekeh, Robarah, Dergehli, Tashish, Besh, Hayis: of these, Derishki and Mayah alone have no churches.

2. *Jellu.* Alson, Jellu, Zirinik, Marzaya, Thilana, Ummut, Zir, Sirpil, Bobawa, Bibokra, Shemsiki, Murtoriyi.

3. *Julamergi.* Julamerik, Koch Hannes, Burjullah,

Espin, Gavanis, Kotranis, Euranis, Syrini, Bekajik, Daizi, Shamasha, Murdadishi, Madis, Merzin, Zerwa, Deriki, Kermi, Gesna, Kalanis, Khazakiyin, Kewuli, Meilawa, Pisa, Alonzo.

4. *Tobi*. Gundukda, Muzra, Tomago, Berijai, Jissah.

5. *Baz* or *Bazi*. Orwantiz, Shoavah, Argub, Kojijah,

6. *Dez*. Rabban Dadishuh, Maddis, Chiri, Suwa, Golosel, Mar Kiriyakos, Akoshi, Chalchan, Gorsi, Savams, Chemmasha.

Besides these, there are several districts, containing villages comparatively insignificant, of which neither the number nor locality was noted :—Walti, Neivdi, Gesnak, Daprashin, Burun, Biljani, Garwar, Albak (between Julamerik and the Lake of Van), Shemso-d-din, Shapat, Bratsinnai, Dirakan, and Nurwar, in Amadiyeh or Bahdinan.

I subjoin the report presented to the Royal Geographical Society, as the best estimate that I could form of the population of Chaldean Christians in the mountains.

1. Tiyari	at 20 houses each 24 villages		480 houses		at 8 persons per house		3840
2. Jellu	12	„	240	„	„	„	1920
3. Julamergi	24	„	480	„	„	„	3840
4. Berrawi	17	„	340	„	„	„	2720
5. Tobi	5	„	100	„	„	„	800
6. Baz	4	„	80	„	„	„	640
7. Dez	11	„	220	„	„	„	1760
							15,520

To which are to be added out of Hakkari—

In Bahdinan, 11 villages, 220 houses, and population .	1760
Town of Amadiyeh, 20 houses	160
	1920
And 13 districts not well known, which may be estimated at 100 houses each, or 1300 houses, and a population of .	10,400
	27,840

This differs much from other estimations previously published, and the fallacy of Dr. Walsh's estimate of 500,000 Christians must be manifest to all who consider the small extent of territory occupied by these Christians and its limited productive capabilities. But in the fear of exaggerating the existing population of these remarkable people, and in whom I take a real interest, it is certain that I have fallen into the opposite extreme, and underrated their numbers considerably. Thus, for example, the capital of Tiyari, Ashitah, contains of itself a population of 5000 souls, according to Dr. Grant. On our return from Mosul by Buhtan, we found an hitherto unknown Chaldean Episcopate, with nine or ten large villages. The number of Chaldeans on the tributaries of the Khabur in Buhtan, there is every reason to believe is very considerable—I can readily believe it to be equal to the population on the Zab, and Dr. Grant mentions the visit of three Chaldean bishops to the Patriarch, from that country. This gentleman averages the population of Chaldeans at 100,000, and taking our subsequent discovery of their extending to the banks of the Tigris and the Buhtan river (Centrites), it is probable that this represents, in round numbers, the proximate Chaldean population of the mountains.

CHAPTER XLII.

Armenian Monastery.

Start from Julamerik. The Jellu or Jawur Mountains. District of Dez Chaldeans. High Uplands of Kurdistan. Murder of the Traveller Schultz. Old Armenian Monastery. Superstitious Stone. An Insolent Kurd. District of Salamast, in Persia. Lake and district of Urimiyeh. The American Mission. Persians of Urimiyeh.

June 22*nd.* In the morning we left Pagi, on our way to Bash Kalah, or the Castle at the Head-waters of the Zab. Our road lay over the mountain of Tur Burju-llah, a huge mass of granite, which it took us two hours to compass; and from whence we descended into the valley, or rather upland, of Koch Hannes, a pretty, small village, advancing over the valley of the Zab, and containing the principal residence of the Patriarch of the Chaldeans. A servant of the house came out to meet us, and brought flowers and a repast from

the ladies of the household. Some of the Kurds of Julamerik were in their tents in this valley, which is watered by a great number of torrents supplied by the snows of Burju-llah.

We rode some distance along the sides of Koch Hannes hill, having a higher range, that of Areb Tagh, before us. We descended hence by a long and steep, but wooded pathway, along which we were obliged as usual to proceed on foot, to a valley where were many villages and delightful groves, with a varied and abundant vegetation. We then ascended again to a cultivated upland at the foot of Areb Tagh, where were the Chaldean villages of Espin and Gharanis, both having towers of defence against the predatory expeditions of the Kurds. Gharanis was a good specimen of the poorer class of Chaldean villages—small, but with a bold look; poor, but religious; the inhabitants of five houses had two churches and one fort.

We passed the evening at Gharanis, where the poor Chaldeans complained much of the robberies of the Kurds, and protested strongly against our bivouacking outside of the village; representing the many dangers in so lively a form as to make converts of Mr. Rassam, Davud, and the muleteers, who retired to the shelter of one of their homely huts. But I dreaded vermin, which were so many realities, more than the Kurds, who were as yet only imaginary things, and got the Greek servant to sleep out with me on the greensward, where we enjoyed a quiet night, and, at an altitude of 7000 feet above the sea, a most delicious temperature, the thermometer on waking indicating only 40·4° Fahr., or 8° 4′ above freezing-point in the middle of

summer. The prospect from Gharanis was exceedingly extensive and very beautiful, rivalling in some respects, although of a different character, the scenery on first entering the country of the Tiyari. The outline and forms of the mountains which contituted the lofty chain of Tura Jellu or Jawur Tagh, were never so distinctly seen. I could take bearings to all the chief points, which are at once the loftiest and by far the most steep and rugged of the Kurdistan mountains, and indeed of all Taurus. There were immediately before us four or five abrupt, truncated, culminating points; between which were ridges of sharp pinnacles, rising like sky-towers, and overlooking deep and precipitous ravines, filled with their vast deposit of perpetual snow.

The quantity of water poured down by the mountains on every side was very great. During the journey of the day, scarcely ever had the din of one torrent begun to grow dim upon the ear, than the sound of another broke upon the silence around. Three different streams poured in lofty falls over the side of Koch Hannes mountain alone, to unite in one before reaching the valley of the river of Espin.

The silver crest of the lofty peaks of Mar Hanan also extended to the north-west, the sun's setting beams lighting up their long continuous summits like a great icy coronal set upon the sea of silent hills, which filled the remainder of this beauteous landscape, and which we now felt loth to leave, still more so from the prospect of a burning plain before us; but we remembered that we had still to cross the same chain,—still perchance to breathe freely on the summit of the peak of Rowandiz.

June 23rd. There are two roads from Gharanis, one

over the mountains, the other by the valley of the Zab. We took the latter, although the longer, in order to visit some sulphur-mines said to exist there, and to avoid the Artushi or Ardushi Kurds, who were not well spoken of.

We made two slight ascents and descents before we came to the sulphur deposit. This we first met with at the bottom of the valley; it consisted of sulphur mixed with blue lime shales, sometimes granular, but mostly pulverulent. The second deposit was half a mile beyond, in breccia of blue limestone, between the fragments of which was a small quantity of crystalline sulphur. Neither of these deposits was of much importance from its extent, but geologically they resembled much what is observed in the plains of Mesopotamia. A warm spring, emitting hydro-sulphurous acid, also occurred in the vicinity.

On leaving these mines, I overtook the remainder of the party in the valley of the Zab, which flowed in a ravine a few hundred feet below us, but the valley itself was several miles in width, wooded or cultivated, with numerous villages, chiefly of Chaldeans, and bounded by lofty hills, generally wooded and without snow;—altogether a pleasing scene, and a country of very great resources.

Passing the Chaldean village of Kermi, we continued some miles along this fertile alpine vale, till we observed it joined from the south by a tributary to the Zab, coming from the Tura Jellu and flowing along another extensive, open, and wooded valley, crowded with the villages of the Dez or Diss Chaldeans. This is certainly an extended territory, of high capabilities

under a protectting government and a progressing civilization.

A short distance beyond this, we turned off from the valley of the Zab, into a little rock-inclosed but cultivated district, revealing two large Chaldean villages. The outline of the mountains had now become less rugged, the uplands were more lofty, and the chains more continuous. We met in our road with a well-armed caravan of mules going to Julamerik. By the road-side grew large golden poppies; and where marshy, Butomus umbellatus.

In the evening, we found that we were again in the valley of the Zab, which had made a great easterly curve, and now winded through a marshy upland vale; at the end of this it received a large tributary, which we crossed by a bridge. Ascending an upland a little above the Zab we reached the Chaldean village of Meilawa. These Chaldeans are subject to Bash Kalah, and no longer claim the distinction of belonging to a tribe.

The country towards the head-waters of the Zab beyond this quite changed its characters. There were still a few mountain points, as Arghi Tagh, to the south-east, with a bold outlying rock, called the Rock of Fire. To the north, between Bash Kalah and Lake Van, was the Erdish Tagh; but the outline of the chains is now tame and rounded, the ranges being neither serrated nor boldly defined, and rising so little above the level of the upland as to have the appearance rather of hills than mountains. But the generally alpine character of the whole country was rendered apparent by a variety of prominent features; the bleak

and bare aspect of the soil—the little cultivation, and that so tardy—the reluctant vegetation of coarse grasses and sedges—the hardy and ligneous character of the perennial species of plants—and the waters flowing towards the lofty chains to the west—spoke of their altitude in language as strong as the diminished pressure of the atmosphere, whether indicated by the length of a column of mercury or by the low temperature of the boiling-point of water. Meilawa, by the latter indications, was at an elevation of 6418 feet.

The cottages of this village somewhat resembled those of Upper Armenia, and as the snow was deep and lasted long, they were built of mud, nearly level with the soil, and half borrowed from the ground. They were at the same time so dispersed in a ravine that there was no greensward to sleep on; so while Rassam and Davud retreated to the shelter of one of these dirty styes, for the cattle, sheep, and poultry all abide under the same cover, I ensconced myself, with the Greek, in the interior of a cone of peat, piled up in that form in order to dry, and we had hardly spread our carpet in this curious mansion before a party of armed Kurds came up, seeking for quarters, and ultimately forcing Rassam and Davud into a stable. They sat for some time round the peat cone, little suspecting that there were two more travellers, upon whom they were heaping all kinds of abusive terms, in the interior.

June 24th. Our road still continued up the open valley of the Zab. Two hours and a half brought us to where two streams meet; the one from the mountains beyond Bash Kalah, the other from Kanda Kilissa. We soon came in view of Bash Kalah, about two miles

to our left. It is a large village, distributed round the base of a more conical hill than that of Julamerik, and, like it, supporting a castle. It is said to contain 200 houses, inhabited by Kurds, Jews, and Armenians. It is governed by an officer of the Bey of Julamerik, and is tributary to the Pasha of Van.

At one part of the valley of the Zab some rocky ridges of yellow limestone come down close to the river's edge, which they shut up in a narrow glen. There are no less than three different castles, square courts, with towers at the angles, commanding this pass. Two are in ruins, but one, Kalah Karani, is still in good repair. Our guides this morning had been a good deal disturbed by the appearanee of six armed Kurds, who followed us for three or four hours, always keeping, however, out of shot. This was an advantageous place for an attack on our small party, for our three Chaldeans had left us at Julamerik, and been replaced by a peaceful, talkative priest, but nothing was attempted.

This place, which Dr. Grant designates a valley in a small creek, appears to be the spot where Schultz* fell a victim to the perfidy of the Kurds. Dr. Grant was informed that a small pile of stones marks his solitary resting-place; had I known this, I would certainly have sought out the tomb of so distinguished a traveller. It is said that one of Schultz's servants escaped to Bash Kalah, where he was taken and put to death, lest he should divulge the circumstances of the

* Dr. Schultz was a scientific traveller, sent into these countries by the French government, and well known to geographers by his discovery of the city of Semiramis on the borders of Lake Van.

murder of his master. Entire secresy was enjoined to every one; but it was not long before the report reached Persia, and redress was demanded by the Prince of Urimiyeh, in consequence of which the immediate agent in the murder was put to death, by the more infamous instigator of the deed, Nurrulah Bey.

Some assert that the desire of plunder was the motive which led to the death of this indefatigable traveller. He is said to have entered the country with considerable baggage, and to have made valuable presents to the chiefs, who hence were led to suppose that his effects were of inestimable worth. Dr. Grant, however, gives another version of the story: he says that he was assured by many of the most intelligent of the Chaldeans and Armenians, who were in the country at the time, that Schultz had just made a visit to the orpiment mines, and that the Kurds believed, from the brilliant yellow colour of the mineral, that he had found it to contain gold, and that he would cause an army to come and take possession of their country. This impression was strengthened by the circumstance that he was seen making scientific observations, measuring their castles, and writing down the observations he had made. This statement has all the appearance of truth, and all the time that I was at Julamerik myself the Patriarch and my companions asserted that our lives would be endangered by my taking notes in public, which led me to forego the practice.

Keeping still up the valley of the Zab we came to an ancient Armenian monastery, well built, with sloping roof, and bell-towers, containing two bells, regularly rung at service. It is curious that the Armenians, who

are dependent, should have preserved this custom, while the Chaldeans, who are independent, have no bells in their churches. This is a very ancient Armenian monastery, and a sketch of it is given at the head of this chapter. It is called Kanda Kilissa, and is inhabited by a bishop and priest; the former of whom, an intelligent man, assigned to it an age of 1600 years. The door-way was a handsome specimen of Saracenic architecture, though defaced by a colossal bas-relief of the Almighty, a monstrous production, resembling a great idol. Around the arch were also other figures, with large heads of hair. On the bodies of these were some antique carvings, among which were some letters resembling those which had been identified as Armenian at Al Hadhr. The church of Kanda is defended by a rampart and bastions, and has two outer courts with defences. On a height above is a modern castle, with a guard of about forty Kurds from Bash Kalah; for this is the frontier of the country.

At this point the Zab is divided into two streams, one of which comes from the southern declivities of the Erdish Tagh, in the district of Albak; the other from Koniyeh, Karasun, and Kashen, where three different springs exist at an elevation of 7500 feet, coinciding with what might be expected from the observed elevation of the Zab in the present upland valley, so near its sources, and where it is a mere brook, 6300 feet at Meilawa, 6800 feet at Kanda Kilissa. They rise between the territory of Salamast and Kotur, in the Sir Albak (Head of Albak), from the sides of which the waters flow in three opposite directions to the Lake of Urimiyeh, to the Caspian, and to the Persian Gulf.

June 25th. This morning we left the valley of the last tributaries to the Zab, and entered upon a hilly country, with occasional ravines in limestone. It was so cold before sunrise that we were glad to walk to keep ourselves warm. In one of these ravines was a block of limestone with a semi-cylindrical hollow, to which is attached the tradition that a prince of Salamast was formerly converted to Christianity, and was in consequence pursued to the mountains; that he attempted to secrete himself in this hollow, but was slain there by his enemies. This locality of an antique martyrdom was treated with great respect by the Chaldeans in our company, who kissed it and then rubbed themselves in the hollow. The stone is well polished by these absurd observances.

Trachytic rocks and basalts break forth amid these limestone rocks, and constitute a group of hills, Tura Khani Sir, or Akronal, which rise above a fine pasturing valley, with a lake in one part of it, and which was now occupied by an encampment of Persian Kurds. It takes its name from a ruined kerwanserai in the valley. We had now entered Persian Kurdistan, and as we wended our way along the valley, an armed Kurd rode up to us, his face half hid by his turban, as is customary upon a predatory expedition, when they pass two folds under the chin to protect the side of the head from sword cuts. Our new companion did not speak a word, but scowled most ferociously into our faces and then examined our baggage. I had given my horse to one of the muleteers, and did not pay much attention to the advent of a single horseman, whom it was preposterous to suppose was going to attempt to rob

a whole party, till Mr. Rassam dropped behind to complain to me of the extraordinary conduct of the Kurd. I then mounted my horse, and riding up along-side of him, met him scowl for scowl, for I could not speak Kurdish and ask him what he meant, and Davud appeared to dislike very much being interpreter upon such occasions: so we rode on a short time in this amicable manner. There was a gentle eminence before us; once over this, and we were out of sight of the encampment, and then I was resolved to come to a practical understanding with our single enemy; but he was too wary for this, for we had just gained the height, when he turned his horse's head, and leaping off, sat down on the grass, leaving us to proceed alone.

We crossed over a ridge of trachytes and descended by Khani Berin, re-ascending amid low hills, from whence we obtained our first view of the fertile plain of Salamast, with the Lake of Urimiyeh beyond. There are moments which never slip from a traveller's memory, as when, after a long journey on a heated or monotonous plain, a range of mountains, with their anticipations of cool waters and refreshing breezes, come into sight, or when, fatigued with mountain-toil and travel, a plain, smiling with gardens and villages, and full of promises of delicious repose, presents itself to his delighted vision.

Our descent to the plain from hence occupied us, however, three long hours, when we reached some basaltic cliffs, which led directly to the cultivated plain. On one of them were the foundations of a castle constructed of stones of large dimensions; to the south was also a bold rock of limestone, which protruded out of

the plain, bearing the ruins of Karnawi or Marandos castle; and before us rose a small hill, the last of the basaltic knolls, with a small Christian church. Pits were dug in the bed of a river close to us to obtain gravel, which is sifted and then sprinkled over the land to adapt it for growing water-melons. Two more hours amid villages and gardens brought us to the Chaldean village of Khosrau, the Chosroes of historians, where lived a female relative of the Patriarch's, to whom he had given us a letter of introduction. We were accordingly kindly received in a pretty little country house. where the servants very soon waited upon us to announce that everything that was in the house was at our service; but the lady herself (her husband being absent) did not make her appearance.

The immense advance made by the Tajiks (genuine Persians) over the Osmanli Turks, is visible in a multitude of small things as well as in the general whole, the moment the traveller enters Persia by whatever quarter. I had felt this much on a former occasion, on passing from Basrah to Bushire (Abou Shehr), but it was difficult to tell then what was not derived from their frequent communication with the British. In this present case, however, there was no immediate European or even American influence, and yet there existed numerous little comforts, as candlesticks, snuffers, bellows, fire-irons, &c., almost unknown to the Osmanli. The whole furniture of the houses was of a better order; the houses themselves were more tasteful and more ornamental; the gardens were inclosed and taken care of; there were carts in the streets; and even the burial-ground was strewn with rude sculptures. The

Tajiks are also as superior to the Turks in manners as they are in general civilization.

The district of Salamast is covered with villages, which have, as in many parts of the East, a common market, where is also the residence of the governor, and the whole is inclosed like a fort. This place is designated sometimes Salamast, sometimes Dilman, but is generally known in ordinary parlance as Shehr, "the Town," simply. It is the same with the district of Urimiyeh. In all this part of Persia a bad Turkish is the language generally spoken; the better classes alone are acquainted with Persian.

June 26th. We rode by Ula, where the American missionaries have a school, and Turmel, to the hills which advance in bold rocks, bearing two castles over the Lake of Urimiyeh, and which are designated Kara Bash (Black Head). But they have a culminating point westward, which had still a few patches of snow on its hoary head, and which, rising about a thousand feet above the level of the lake, is called Zendasht Tagh, or Tur Zendasht, by the Chaldeans.

On our descent from the range of hills, we came down not far from the great lake of Urimiyeh, which in its wide expanse resembles an inland sea, being about eighty miles in length and thirty in width. Its banks are not wooded, but, when not rocky, occupied by saline marshes, which produce nothing but the plants common to such a soil. The waters are so salt that fish cannot live in it, but the shores are occasionally enlivened by water-fowl; among which the brilliant flamingo is the most conspicuous.

We halted at the Chaldean village of Gawalan, to

the north of which, and not far from the lake, was the larger Christian village, called Jemalaweh by the Chaldeans, but Jelalabad by the Persians. We visited the house of the priest, which was full of females and children; and after the customary compliments I retired to a garden in the neighbourhood, where I could sit and write at my ease. Not a being came to disturb me, save my faithful Greek, who brought me my dinner shortly after sunset, and at night came and took up his quarters under an adjacent tree.

June 27th. Our road lay along the banks of the lake, but at some distance from the water, and over a dry, gravelly, or sandy plain, covered with a species of ononis and mesembryanthemum, amid which, when the soil was slightly saline, predominated a species of salsola; when very saline, a salicornia; when scarcely at all salt, Nigella Damascena, Capparis spinosa and C. ovata. Thus, at an elevation of 4300 feet, we had at once the vegetation of Mesopotamia and of Babylonia, the nigella especially reminding one of Mosul, the mesembryanthema of Hillah, but vegetation was more dense; and the perpetual artemisiæ of the lower plains were a good deal replaced by Astragalus verus and A. tragacanthoides. Amid these were numerous vagabond flowering plants, which did not, however, affect the main features of the vegetation. Springs of water were frequent at the foot of the hills, but generally brackish. Major Rawlinson has described the lake as supplied by several salt rivers on the eastern side.

It appeared to me that the lake had with the progress of time rather diminished in size than otherwise, and which would be substantiated by its excessive salt-

ness, as well as by the considerable lacustrine deposit that extends along its shores, characterized by its vegetation of saline plants. The Major is inclined to take an opposite view of the subject, and to consider the lake as encroaching upon the land. This may very well be occasionally the case, as in different seasons of the year, when the supplies from the rivers are greater or less, and again at certain times when whole rivers are absorbed in irrigation, or are allowed free course to the lake, as is related by Major Rawlinson of the Jaghatu and the Tatau: but these are accidental phenomena, while the great extent of alluvium, which has evidently been deposited by the waters of the lake, leaves no doubt of the general change produced in a great period of time, notwithstanding the temporary variation in the level of the waters.

The district of Urimiyeh presents an extraordinary scene to a person accustomed to the treeless monotony of the plains of Mesopotamia. A more fertile district can scarcely be imagined. One vast extent of groves, orchards, vineyards, gardens, rice-grounds, and villages, sometimes with a village common, it much resembled the best parts of Lombardy, between Milan and the Lago Maggiore.

All the latter part of our journey was carried for many hours over the same plain of exuberant fertility, clothed with a luxuriant verdure, fruitful fields, gardens and vineyards, irrigated by streams of pure water, from the adjacent mountains. The landscape is one of the most lovely in the East; and the effect is not a little heightened by the contrast of such surprising fertility, with the stern aspect of the surrounding heights, on

which not a solitary tree is to be seen; while in the plain, the willows, poplars, and sycamores, by the water-courses, the peach, apricot, pear, plum, cherry, quince, apple, and vine, in the orchards, impart to large sections the appearance of a rich, variegated forest.

Towards evening we arrived at the ancient city of Urimiyeh, containing a population of about twenty thousand souls, mostly Mohammedans, and inclosed by a fosse and wall of nearly four miles in circut.

The American mission at this place, which has now attained so much power and prosperity, was founded in November, 1835, by the Rev. J. Perkins and Dr. Grant, accompanied by their wives. The Rev. A. L. Halladay and Mr. W. R. Stocking arrived with their wives, in June, 1837; Rev. W. Jones and wife, November, 1839; Rev. A. H. Wright, M.D., July, 1840; and we met on the way from Trebizond, at the time of our return, Mr. Edward Breath, a printer, who was charged with a a press of such construction as to allow of its transportation on horses.

The labours of this mission have been most successful and praiseworthy. Twelve or fourteen free-schools have been opened in the villages of the plain; a seminary and girls' boarding-school have been established on the mission premises in the city; considerable portions of the Scriptures have been translated into the vernacular language of the Chaldeans. The Chaldeans on their part have opened their churches for their Sabbath-schools, and the preaching of the Gospel, and native *helpers* are being raised up and qualified for usefulness; the missionaries have been allowed to prosecute their labours without a breath of opposition from the ecclesiastics or the

people; they have, when difficulties have occurred with the local authorities, been assisted by the influence of the British Embassy in Persia, and nothing at present threatens to interfere with the noble field of labour which they have monopolised to themselves, and the gracious enterprise in which such good spirits are associated.

A drawback has occurred, however, to this picture of prosperity in doing good, in the afflictions which the mission families have suffered from the inroads of the malaria of the country. From this sad disease Dr. Grant lost his wife, in the year 1839, and probably from the same causes, they have found it a most difficult matter to rear children, who are almost always carried off in early life.

Mr. Rassam and myself had only provided ourselves, on our departure from Mosul, with such clothing as the necessities of the journey would positively require from us, as we were not at all certain that we should be able to penetrate into and traverse Kurdistan, without being robbed even of that small quota. From these circumstances, partly also as a visit to the American missionaries might have detained us a few days at Urimiyeh, which would have put us to inconvenience, and still further, as I expected in the autumn months to have been able to return and lay down the whole details of the Lake of Urimiyeh, in my way from Armenia, we thought it better for the moment to defer introducing ourselves to the numerous members of the mission. I myself had at the same time, from so long breathing the pure air of the mountains, imbibed quite a horror of the confinement of a house in the hot plains, and while Mr. Rassam, Davud, and the remainder

proceeded to the khan in the city, I laid my carpet under a tree not far from the way-side, where I was not long in being visited by numerous Persians, whose Turkish puzzled me at first, and especially their word for *good*, which, in Turkish *a-e*, is by them called *yak-tchi*. Observing that I was amused by hearing a native singing as he went by, they extended their politeness to sending for a man whom they said could sing in the most superlatively yak-tchi manner, and I was thus doomed to listen for nearly half an hour, to certainly most extraordinary vocal exertions. After dark my Greek servant came from the town and brought with him cherries, a fruit I had not tasted for a long time, and he afterwards took up his quarters near me.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Start from Urimiyeh. Timidity of the Persians. Town of Ushnei. Pass of the Keli Shin. Ascent of the Peak of Rowandiz. Prospect from the Summit. Persian Fire-Temples on High-Places. Descent of the Mountain. Fort of Sidek, or Sidaka. Approach to Rowandiz.

June 28th. Leaving Urumiyeh we crossed the river of Suhur by a bridge of five arches, and passing a low range of hills entered upon a very fertile low rice country, which extended nearly to the banks of the lake, and to the south, gradually became a marsh, which must be impassable at certain seasons of the year. When we came to the banks of the Burranduz river, we could not find a ford, and after attempting it for some time, we were forced to return to the village of Asinijik, where we obtained a guide, and ultimately forded the river, about a mile below where we first attempted it. Beyond this we advanced upon an extensive plain and pasture-land, everywhere covered with large herds of horses and cattle, and flocks of sheep and goats. There were also many villages, and every appearance of prosperity and fertility all along the east side of the same mountains, which on the western side are, generally speaking, so sterile and unproductive.

We brought up for the night on these pasture-lands, not far from the fortified farm of Uladi, where we could obtain bread and milk. The peasants, as usual, recommended us taking up our quarters within the farm, and represented, with true Persian exaggeration, all the

dangers of sleeping out on the plain; however, upon this occasion we all bivouacked out together, nor did any one come to give us any trouble.

June 29th. Passing the villages of Thomator (Christian) and that of Char, each with its mud fort, we entered upon the hills which now separated us from the plain of Ushnei, or Shino, as it is generally called. We entered by a ravine, about one mile and a half up which we found the village of Kasinli, the hills around rising barely 800 feet above the valley. At mid-day, after travelling six hours, we came to an upland of sienitic rocks, having traversed which, we descended upon the plain of Ushnei, and passing the Christian village of Cham, rode through Ushnei without stopping, and bivouacked in a field beyond the town.

The plain of Ushnei is traversed in its centre by the river Gader, and may be estimated at eight to nine miles in length and two to three in width. It contains eight villages besides the residence of the governor and market-place (Ushnei), and two forts, both near the river. This plain is at an elevation, by boiling-point thermometer, of 4619 feet, which appears from the short course of the Gader to be correct.

The mountains of Keli Shin rise from 1000 to 1500 feet above the plain, or about 6000 feet above the level of the sea; and they presented a nearly continuous extent of snow, descending 500 feet down their eastern declivities to the zone of fennel. The plain itself appears to have been once a lake, which was gradually filled up by deposits of gravel brought down by the Gader, and which at the upper end of the plain attain a depth of upwards of 100 feet. A mud fort of no

great antiquity, two miles south-west of Ushnei, has been raised from its previous insignificance by the learning and research of Major Rawlinson, and proved to occupy the site of Saragana, where the army of Narses effected its junction with the Armenian contingent. It derives, however, still more importance from its corroborating the ancient existence of a great thoroughfare across the mountains by Herir, Rowandiz and Sidek.

We suffered some inconvenience from the picturesque red turbaned Kurds of Ushnei, who held various debates concerning the appropriation of our goods; but still more from the exaggerated fears of the more poltroon black capped gentlemen, who visited us in numbers in the field near the town, where we had extended our carpets and turned out the horses and mules to grass, and made such representations of the dangers we had to encounter on entering the mountains, and that we might even experience from remaining where we were, as quite to discomfit a portion of our party. When night came, I made strong representations as to the necessity of our dividing the watch, but Mr. Russell was no longer with us, and I was left in the minority of one; Mr. Rassam and poor Davud had crept together on the same carpet, and were positively crouched up and disabled by fear, so at length the Greek and I were obliged to divide the night between ourselves, and it is unnecessary to say, that it was undisturbed even by the hooting of an owl.

The next day, Mr. Rassam, Davud, and the muleteers, united in objecting to proceed without a guard from the Khan of Ushnei, which the two former volunteered to procure, much against my inclination, and to

our ultimate inconvenience. In the first place we did not get off till the afternoon, waiting for said guard, which turned out to be two useless and badly-armed khawasses; and secondly, there was a great road across the Keli Shin, direct from Ushnei, by which I should have seen the celebrated pillar, with Persepolitan characters, that exists in this pass, but which I was deprived of, by being led out of the way, and unnecessarily to the summer quarters of the Zerza Kurds. My regret has, however, been lessened, by reading Major Rawlinson's account of the same stone and writing, which, if engraved on the compact blue slate or schist of the neighbouring mountains, as appears from that gentleman's description to be the case, must be irrecoverably illegible. It is satisfactorily determined, however, to be a cuneiform inscription.

We bivouacked close by the tents of the Kurds, who supplied us abundantly with milk, butter, and other pastoral dainties, and which are truly such, in a hot climate; and being under the protection of these rude mountaineers, we were not harassed by the repetition of the same fear-begetting tales with which we had been surfeited every evening, since we had been in Persian Kurdistan.

July 2nd. We started at an early hour for the ascent of the Keli Shin, which was performed on foot; but we were delayed by the non-arrival of the Kurds who were to act as guards, and without whom the muleteers would not proceed; when they came up, only two were armed, and these began, in the most haughty and insolent manner, to ask for pipes, which were at once refused to them. We then proceeded on our

journey, and crossing the first range, gained a country with less snow and more wood, and with many flocks of sheep and goats feeding on the mountain sides. We soon, however, came to another range, with glaciers, the slope of which created some anxiety. We passed three of these, however, in safety; it was more fearful to look at another passing over them than to venture oneself; a single slip would infallibly have hurried a person to eternity.

When we gained the next crest, the peak of Rowandiz was only distant from us two more summits and crests, and was easily attainable. I had gone behind a rock to take a few bearings without attracting attention, when I heard a quarrel, and upon my return found Rassam and Davud agitated with alarm. The Kurds had insisted on being paid according to their unlimited demands, and upon the mountain where we were. I was glad of this, as there was now an opportunity of repaying them for their previous insolence, which had indeed been intolerable all the way. They were now alone on the mountain, and the Greek and myself were infinitely better armed than they, and our arms in better condition, so we told them to go about their business, they should not have a farthing. Mr. Rassam, however, who was for pacific measures, promised one of the guides to pay him at Rowandiz. Finding that they could get nothing from us here, the two ruffians went off, which was an agreeable riddance.

We now continued our ascent of the mountain. Vast piles of snow, accumulated by the drift winds to a depth of many hundred feet, were only broken through by bold and sharp rocky pinnacles of grey and green

quartz, or broke off abruptly over dark precipices of brown and blue schists, shivering away in silvery leaflets, and shaking in the breeze more like fragments of the ice-heap than of the mountain. The Aretia alpina, and here and there a saxifrage, were the only remaining specimens of vegetation; on some sheltered moist spots grew, in isolated masses, Polytrichum septentrionale.

Proceeding over the first mountain, we had a descent to make through a ravine filled with snow, then another ascent steep and rocky, and another glacier, till hope deferred made the heart sick. At length we came to a precipice formed by a vast dyke of sienites, which crossed the whole crest, and constituted the summit of the peak of Rowandiz, or Sheikhiwa, as it is called by the Kurds. We were now obliged to climb, but perseverance soon brought us to the top, from whence we enjoyed a view of almost all Northern Kurdistan, favoured as we were by an uncommonly clear and fine day; nothing but the haze, produced by the intense heat of the plain, prevented our seeing Mosul. Indeed, it was well that, before my departure, I had taken several bearings from Mosul to this mountain, for since the great heats had come on, it had been no longer visible. The elevation of Rowandiz, by boiling-point thermometer, we found to be 10,568 feet.

But, although remarkable by its position, there is no doubt that some of the summits of the Jellu mountains, which are peaks rising on a sea of peaks, or mountains superposed on a group of mountains, exceed it in elevation. Such more particularly is the mountain called Sheikiv, and of which Sheikiwah is the diminutive, thus indicating that the Kurds consider the former as

the higher mountain. This mountain constitutes what may be considered as the southerly peak of the Tura Jellu or Jawur Tagh, unless the Keli Shin and Sheikhiwa mountains are regarded, as they may strictly be, as a continuation of the same chain. All the loftiest alps occur towards the heads of the tributaries of the Great Zab, adhering to the narrow line of the granitic axis, and lower towards the head-waters of the Little Zab. At the same time, I doubt if there are any mountains in Kurdistan which attain an elevation of 15,000 feet, as marked on Colonel Monteith's map; the highest summits of the Jellu or Jawur Tagh, viewed in comparison with Sheikhiwa, not appearing to have a greater elevation than 12,000 or 13,000 feet.

On looking around, I was particularly delighted by the number of old friends which I could distinguish. First, and most prominent, were the Jellu mountains, from which I was separated by what might truly be called a tremendous country of awful chasms and steep precipices; although, when one comes to face these difficulties, such a pigmy is man compared with surrounding nature, that they are merely steep slopes which he may tread, just as an ant finds a firm hold upon what to us appears the smooth surface of a stone.

Advancing from the mountain of Sheikiv upon the valley of the Zab, which here and there displayed itself glittering out from the wooded vale below like a minute silver thread, was the bold but less lofty mountain of Linitka; beyond was the chain of Matineh, and nearer, that of Ghara Tobi and Rash Kaim, which terminated with their rugged summits the prospect to the north-west. It is the abrupt termination of these chains, and

the opening that extends between them and the Zobar country and mountains, which allows of the Sheikhiwa being seen from Mosul. To the west, was first the bold and wooded mountain of Sir-i-Burd, with the beauteous vale of Sidaka, or Sidek, at its base; and beyond this the giant precipices of limestone which guard Rowandiz, and which open their rocky breast to allow the waters of four rivers to mingle together. To the south-west, the country was lower, yet I recognised some well-known points near Keuy Sanjiak, while the lofty summits of the Kandilan mountains limited the prospect to the south. To the east was the noble expanse of Lake Urimiyeh, and the comparatively low country of Lahijan and Solduz, backed by the hills of Sardusht and Mikri, and stretching beyond till lost in the haze of a mid-day sun.

It was with regret that we tore ourselves from this magnificent prospect; added to which, the mountain itself had a charm which was deeply felt by all. It, perhaps, more particularly originated in the deep silence which reigned upon this lofty summit, and which appeared as if for ever unbroken on the spot which thus rose up to the region of the clouds so perfectly alone, so pure in its canopy of white, and with an atmosphere so substantially deep and blue, that it seemed a cloud of itself; and the spectator shuddered to think himself upon its bosom!

It has been truly remarked, that,

> Not vainly did the early Persian make
> His altar the high places and the peak
> Of earth-o'ergazing mountains*.

* If Major Rawlinson be correct in supposing that the mountain of Asnavend, which bore one of the three original sacred fires—that

After half-running, half-sliding, we found ourselves in an hour comfortably seated just below the inferior limits of snow, where a fire had been kindled, and breakfast was prepared to reward us for our toil. There were also a host of Kurdish shepherds, who had gathered round to wonder who were the madmen—for they were polite enough to deem us such—who had come to run, as if in derision, over their snow-clad mountains*.

A large caravan passed along the road in the course of the morning, and, indeed, notwithstanding the predatory habits of the Kurds, this is in summer-time one of the most frequented passes in this part of the country, the same merchants having recourse in severer seasons to the

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of Azer Geshesp—was at or near the famous Keli Shin, this high and remarkable mountain was the most likely to be chosen as the site of the temple; but it may be objected both to the heikhiwa and to the Keli Shin, that they are rendered almost inaccessible by snow and glaciers, and I am much more inclined to seek for the site of Asnavend at the peak of Atash Tagh (Fire Rock), before noticed, which is a commanding yet accessible eminence, and better adapted to the description given in the Zend Avesta, where Mount Asnavend is mentioned as between Var Khosrau, or Lake of Van, and Var Tekhesht, or Lake of Urimiyeh.

* I here lost the last opportunity of obtaining a snow worm; a creature abundantly noticed by old naturalists, as Aristotle, Pliny, Ælian, and Theophrastus. Strabo says, they exist in Armenia, and contain good water, which may be drank, after tearing the vesicles that contain it. He also gives their names after Apollonidus. When at Mosul, I had been positively promised by the Chaldeans that they would obtain one of these natural curiosities for me; but although I afterwards offered a premium for the discovery none were brought, notwithstanding that their existence is mentioned by all as a well-known matter of fact.

road by Rowandiz to So-uj Bolak; but in winter, all roads are equally impassable. The elevation of our halting-place was 8568 feet.

On leaving our station we kept rounding the acclivities of the mountain for several hours, during which we passed over a great variety of rock formations, and rivulets, or rather torrents, pouring down from the perpetual glaciers of this lofty peak. The first rivulet we met with came from a small lake at the south-west side of the mountain, which had, apparently but a few years ago, broken its boundaries and scattered over the valley a vast accumulation of rocks, boulders, and pebbles. We then passed no less than three successive torrents, each from eleven to fifteen feet in width, and pouring along with such rapidity that the legs of the hardy Kurd mules trembled beneath them when urged into the stream. The various streams united in a beautiful wooded vale lying still many hundred feet beneath us, and containing several villages of Kurds, for there were no more Chaldeans in this part of the mountains.

Still curving round the acclivities of the mountain we entered upon a forest of oak, with an undergrowth of jasmine, small honeysuckle, and cercis. This region was the most agreeable in the mountains; the temperature was mild, and the air light and pleasant; there was neither the heat nor parched vegetation of the plains, nor was there the snows and extreme cold, with the fierceness of torrents and rugged torn-up fragments of rock, to be met with in the higher regions. It took us four long hours' ride to descend from our station to the head of the valley of Sidaka, or Sidek, which we had no sooner gained than we found mulberry-trees

loaded with fruit, which, as may be naturally expected, put a great impediment in the way of progress, as every one was helping himself according to his means.

The change in the temperature and vegetation was, as may be imagined, very great. We were in the midst of rice and melon cultivation, and surrounded by groves of mulberry. Several little villages were scattered along the side of the river of Sidaka, or upon the declivities of the hills. The valley is, strictly speaking, a ravine at the base of the Sheikhiwa; it and the surrounding country still remain under the government of the Bey of Rowandiz. The tribe dwelling in this vale called themselves Pir Astini. We proceeded a few miles down the valley, and then brought-to in some pasture lands with hedges and trees, resembling, in almost every particular, a way-side in our own country. Not far from us was a small village, called Jeffuli, from whence we obtained the usual necessaries.

July 2nd. Next day we continued our journey along the valley of Sidaka, as it is called by the Kurds, and by the Persians Sidek. It was narrow, and densely wooded. Not far from the end of the valley we crossed a small but rapid river by a bridge carried over a ravine, a little beyond which was a brook, and between the two a bold naked mass of rock is isolated, so as to strike out of the valley with precipitous walls. On this projection is the fort of Sidaka, a square court, with four round towers at the angles; but having also in front another curtain and gateway, defended by two more towers. Before the castle is the village, which contains about 100 houses. Although the present castle is a comparatively modern building, the rock on which it stands

appears to have been chiselled on its face at a very remote date, for the waters have since that period wrought changes which are easily distinguishable from what was done in ancient times to render the rock more difficult of approach. There is every reason to believe, from the peculiarities of its position, as well as from its antique appearance, that it was a station or fort at the time when this was the great road from Nineveh to Ecbatana. A wooded open valley unites with the Sidek vale from the south-east, and the united waters flow into the comparatively open country between Sir Linitka and Sir-i-Burd.

It is not improbable that I was the first European who, in modern times, has visited this remarkable fort, or who, indeed, has crossed the mountains of Kurdistan at this point, and I was anxious to examine it carefully and search for inscriptions, although I was not at the time aware of the report obtained by Major Rawlinson of their being such at this place. Unfortunately, however, the soldiers came out of the castle, insisting upon the examination of our papers and baggage, as this was the frontier-fort between Turkish and Persian Kurdistan. So, to avoid this annoyance, I was obliged to yield to the general wish to push on and leave the soldiers unsatisfied. Immediately beyond Sidaka we commenced the ascent of Sir-i-Burd, a huge mountain of a more or less conical form generally covered with wood, of which a large proportion were valonia oaks. The country we had now entered upon was, indeed, a continuation of the Amadiyeh district, and, like it, is the true country of valonia and gall-nuts.

As we advanced amid the dense forests of Sir-i-Burd

the scene presented little variety, but we passed round the head of one valley, in which there were villages and some cleared places for cultivation; where there was a spring, there was also generally one or two trees of more gigantic growth than the rest, and a more or less open patch of greensward, where caravans are accustomed to bivouac. It took us five hours to accomplish a distance of eighteen miles, which led us nearly round one-half of the mountain's circumference. We then began to descend towards the vale of Rowandiz by a difficult pathway, carried over a shelving declivity of schists, and on which we were obliged to walk. It constitutes the second of the difficulties of this road, which are three in number, viz.: the snows of the pass of Keli-Shin, the descent on slates at the foot of the Sir-i-Burd, and the vast limestone precipices west of Rowandiz.

The prospect that opened upon us during the descent was that of a bold and rather peculiar rocky scenery. A stony and not well-wooded vale lay beneath us, bounded to the west by a precipitous and bare ridge of limestone rocks. It was evident from the form of the valley that its waters did not flow along its centre, but close to the last-mentioned ridge. The town of Rowandiz was not visible, but it was easy to guess at its situation; and the deep cleft, through which the river of Rowandiz forced its way to join the waters of the Zab, rose gradually from a mere glen in the neigbourhood of the town to a giant staircase of rocks as they united with the westerly range; and through which the upper part of the now lofty ravine was visible at a vast distance, as a deep black enormous fissure.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Izedi Tomb.

Town of Rowandiz. Kurd Bey of Rowandiz. Road carried down a Precipice. Peculiar Hydrography. Comparison of the Great Zab and Tigris. Descend to the plains of Adiabene. Occurrences at Mosul. Visit to Eski Mosul (Old Mosul). Mosul Ashirat of Arabs. Numerous Wild Boars. Mr. Rassam, Vice-Consul at Mosul. Astronomical Observations.

I WAS prepared from the scanty description of Dr. Ross, the first and only European who had preceded us at Rowandiz, (pronounced by the natives Rawanduz,) to meet with much to interest me in the position and peculiarities of this remote and little known mountain town, but the reality exceeded my expectations. We were almost at its portals before it became visible; but as we approached, the distribution of the numerous ravines, with their perpendicular walls of limestone rock, the place whereabouts the town would be, became every moment

more distinct. At length, coming over a gentle hill, we saw a mount with one of the usual square castles with round towers upon its summit; but this was not yet Rowandiz. We travelled on, and tower after tower displayed itself in succession, till, upon a naked plain of limestone, higher up, a few gardens made their appearance, and at length the town itself burst upon our view: the houses, built in rows, one above the other, and descending in successive tiers, along a tongue of limestone, which has a deep ravine to the east, and another to the north, the latter containing the river of Rowandiz. We descended into the ravine and found a bridge thrown across the precipice where the river is only ten yards wide and about one yard deep, and rolling about twenty feet below.

As we rode through the steep and narrow streets, the crowd that pressed upon our passage to see the strangers, was so great, that it was with difficulty we could get along. It was in vain that I had looked in entering the town, among these naked rocks, for some tree, beneath which to seek for a night's repose; I had seen none, and was obliged to wend my way on this occasion with the remainder to the crowded and dirty khan of the city. We were no sooner there and installed in the balcony that surrounds the inner court of these Eastern hostelries, than the whole interior, court and all, was filled with spectators; among them I observed to my surprise a young Shammar Arab, exceedingly well dressed. "How did you come here?" I asked him; "How did you?" was his answer, smiling significantly. He then told me that he had crossed the mountains from Keuy Sanjiak. Now as I had been on a former occasion from Suleimaniyeh

to Keuy Sanjiak, I only wanted the itinerary from that place to Rowandiz, to fill up a good part of Kurdistan, and two minutes more saw me, pen in hand, inditing to the dictation of the polite young Shammar, to the infinite amazement of the crowd, who wondered how I had so soon found a friend. Mr. Rassam, however, had found a host of friends on his part, Romish Chaldeans from Mosul, who bring European manufactures into these remote parts in exchange for galls, skins, tobacco, &c.

The town of Rowandiz has been estimated at 2000 houses, but I could not count more than 1000. As I may, however, have left some out, let it be allowed altogether 1300; but most of them contain from two to three families, none so few as one, and many more. Indeed I never saw such a crowded population, nor so strange a scene. The roofs of the houses have no walls as in other Eastern towns, and the moment the sun set the dinner was taken, and the bed made upon the roof; for the pent-up valleys of Rowandiz and Amadiyeh are as oppressively hot as the plains of Mesopotamia. There were more than 500 persons to see us eat; and so great was the population that at night I observed there was not room enough on the roofs, and that hundreds of people, men, women, and children, lay in the streets. Many had entwined a few branches round their couches; some had erected little scaffoldings of wood and branches, on which slept the family, dogs, and fowls, but the scene was very strange to the eyes of a European. Altogether there was less refinement here than I had yet witnessed in the East.

The town is defended on the land-side by a wall with round towers; and the bey has several guns.

There were also several round towers outside the town: on the opposite side of the east ravine there are two; between the castle, to the north, and the ravine of the river, there are two more; and two in advance of the walls on the land-side. There is also a larger tower in the town on the higher part of the rock. The bey has as usual the best house, and a very pleasant summer-house, covered with branches of trees, where he spent the day while we were there.

The present bey is brother to the late chieftain, who rebelled against the Osmanli government, and whose fate is involved in Oriental mystery. The ambition of this man led him to plan conquests upon a large scale, and to threaten a large portion of the Osmanli dominions, in which enterprise had he been seconded by the Kurds as a nation, there is no doubt that he might have met with considerable success. As it was, he sacked and ravaged the fortress of Amadiyeh, and made an independent fort of it; and he even had the audacity to build a fort at the ferry upon the Great Zab, by which he broke off the communication between Baghdad and Mosul. He also built many minor forts at different derbends or entrances into the Kurdistan mountains, two of which I passed upon a former journey, not far from Keuy Sanjiak. At length Ali Pasha moved with a small body of troops and some field pieces against the rebel Kurd, to whom a further prestige was attached, from his lameness, which led among the extravagant Orientals, to his being identified after such limited prowess with Timur Bey. Ali Pasha, however, did not take his troops and guns beyond the hills of Herir on the outskirts of the mountains, and which, as far as the

real difficulties were concerned, was no nearer than Baghdad. A series of negotiations was commenced here, and the bey was ultimately allured from his fastnesses, and sent to Constantinople. A little previous to this, the bey was visited by Dr. Ross, from the Residency of Baghdad, and afterwards by Mr. Wood, now consul at Damascus. This latter gentleman, who was then dragoman to the British Embassy at Constantinople, interested himself much in the fate of the prisoner, and also got the Ambassador to exert himself for the mountain Kurd, (who had promised in return great regard and friendship for the English,) so far as, after his swearing allegiance to the Porte, to get him sent back to his country, with the new title of Mohammed Pasha. He was accordingly shipped off to Samsun, but disappeared at Amasiyeh, owing, as it was studiously reported, to illness, but from inquiries we made at Amasiyeh itself, shortly after the time, we learned that he was overtaken there by a messenger from Constantinople with the bowstring*.

Dr. Ross, and on his authority, Major Rawlinson, have written of the river of Rowandiz as if it were identical with the Great Zab, which is not the case, as the river of Rowandiz comes from the west slope of the Kandilan mountains; and up its fine and open valley is the road to So-uj Bolak: near Rowandiz it enters into a ravine of limestone, and receives at the town a stream

* A few years ago Abbas Mirza also sent an army against the Kurds of Rowandiz, then governed by Mustafah Bey, but the Persians were driven back and obliged to retreat, with the loss of their artillery.

from the south, and the ravine keeps increasing in depth with its further progress to the west. Not far below the Rowandiz is a gap in these cliffs, through which flow the winter-torrents from a high mountain, towering over these ravines, and called Sir Hasan Beg. Further on, and about one mile below Rowandiz, the river of that town is joined by a much larger stream, formed by the union of the three great streams with many minor ones which flow from the Sheikhiwa and the river of Sidaka.

July 3rd. We did not leave Rowandiz till mid-day. There was much commercial activity in the khan; they were loading two caravans at the moment with madder-root, tobacco, and buffalo-skins. The merchants of Mosul bring there English and French goods to exchange for galls. I saw the skins of two Kurd foxes, evidently a peculiar species, very small, with no brush to the tail; the fur fine and short, of an ash-grey colour, except the mesial line of the back, which was brown; the ears were short. Passing the gardens of the town, we made a descent into a deep valley with a gap through the lime ridge into the bed of the Rowandiz river; we then ascended one hour and a half to the crest of the shoulder of Sir Hasan Beg. We descended from hence one of the most remarkable precipices that I have ever seen a road carried down. It was not so lofty as many in the Tiyari, but it was nearly vertical, and upwards of 800 feet in perpendicular depth, and yet the road was hewn in the face of this precipice, along which it winded round and round with so gradual a descent that it might be effected in safety on horse-back. We went fast, for we were thirsty, and the windings must have been six or seven miles in length.

Having gained the bottom, the road does not follow the valley or ravine of the river of Rowandiz, but that of Pir Hasan, which flows into it. This river presented the remarkable peculiarity of having its origin outside the inner range of mountains to the west, and of then forcing its way into, instead of out of them, winding along deep ravines and secluded rocky dells, till it fell into the river of Rowandiz, to flow out of the same mountains back again to the west; and very little beyond this junction the united streams of Sidaka, Rowandiz, and the last-mentioned stream, flow into the Great Zab. The union occurs amid stupendous precipices of limestone, which rise perpendicularly upwards of 1000 feet above the pigmy torrents, though these must have been the main instruments of this singular configuration and distribution of rock and water.

The rivers abounded in fish; and our road up the glen of the Pir Hasan river had many charms. In the first place the steep precipices shaded us from the hot beams of the sun; there was plenty of water, and the wooded cliffs presented great variety of scene: in some parts vast slips had taken place, and huge masses of rock for a time hid the river from sight; then we came upon a little open space with a base of sand or gravel, while at other times the road was carried with difficulty under overhanging cliffs. At length we arrived at an open plain, where the limestone rocks at the outskirts of the range were nearly vertical, while within they became almost immediately horizontal, an arrangement not so readily accounted for by the hypothesis of upheaving forces, as by that of subsidence. Near the exit of the mountains I visited a curious cave, but of no remarkable depth,

and a little beyond we came upon a wooded vale, in part cultivated, where we took up our quarters in a most pleasant situation by the river side; and in which I enjoyed a luxurious bath.

As we continued our journey the next day, however, we found that we were more rapidly entering upon an uninteresting country, the sun-burnt plains and undulating district which extend between the outlying low ranges of hills of the Kurdistan mountains. First on our road were the hills of Koniatman, clad with oaks, among which appeared a modern square castle called Kalah Kin by my informants, and Kalah Julamerik by the muleteers, who were from Rowandiz. These hills led us to the plain of Herir, beyond which is the rocky range of limestone called Gharah Surgh. Passing by Anoma, a large village, we came to the banks of the Zab, where is a ferry and two villages, the one on the left bank being called Kasroki, that on the right, Kendil. The ferry, however, had been removed lower down, and when we reached it, as there was only a very small raft supported by eight skins, it took us three journeys of one hour each to carry over everything; and what rendered this delay in the middle of the day more irksome was, that there was no tree nor overhanging rock to shelter us from the sun, and I think I never felt its direct rays more powerful.

Difference of opinion has existed among geographers as to the comparative size of the Great Zab and of the Tigris at Mosul; and this is not surprising, since they are so nearly equal in magnitude that sometimes the one has the superiority, sometimes the other. I have collected a variety of data upon the subject, and the result

is that at Nimrud, at the ferry to Arbil, and at Herir, the Zab varies from 150 to 200 yards in width, while the Tigris, seldom less than 200 yards, expands occasionally to 300 and even 400 yards, as at Yarumjah. In fact, the Tigris varies very much, so that at the time of flood it presents the appearance given to it in the map, which represents it as formed at Mosul of many branches. At these seasons it attains in some places a width, as we have before seen, just above Mosul, of about an English mile, and is a truly splendid sheet of water. But the Zab is always much deeper; and it is probably on this account that it is so celebrated for the quantity and size of its fish. It contained, when we saw it, a larger body of water than the Tigris, whose tributaries are not supplied by so many snow-mountains as those of the Zab. Indeed the main branch, or that of Arghana Maden, comes from mountains (Azarah) where there is no snow at this season of the year. The temperature of the waters of the Zab is also several degrees lower than that of the waters of the Tigris throughout summer, and they are consequently delicious to drink. As the seasons of the floods of the Tigris are in April and May, and those of the Zab in June and early in July, the superiority passes in succession from the one to the other. When at their lowest, probably, the Tigris has a slight pre-eminence.

A little beyond the ferry we entered upon a country of sands and sandstones, with the usual rivulets clad with gaudy oleanders. There are many villages on the banks of the Zab, and we stopped at one of these, called Isa, by the side of a clear spring, and as Mr. Rassam and Davud were now approaching Mosul they began to

feel themselves at home, and we enjoyed the evening in calm repose, undisturbed by the long histories of robberies and murders that had been dealt out in so wholesale a manner on the other side of the mountains. We suffered much, however, at night from hot blasts, which came from the plains of Mesopotamia, and kept the thermometer at 110° during the night. It was impossible to sleep under such circumstances; but the result was beneficial, and next day the atmosphere was generally cooled and more agreeable.

July 5th. The main part of the morning's journey was directed up the valley of the Akra river, which is a tributary to the Zab, and not to the Khazir, as marked in Dr. Ross's map. About eight miles from the Zab there are two streams; one of which finds its way by a ravine through the limestone range that flanks the low country, and is here called Sir-i-Sadah; the other comes from Akra*, which was only distant about one hour's ride. This valley and the plain of Nav-Kur (the Plain of Mud), produce the greater part of the rice consumed at Mosul, as well as many common and water-melons. The best and largest water-melons are, however, said to be produced on the banks of the Khazir.

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* Akra is described by Dr. Grant as a romantic little town, embosomed in gardens and fruit orchards. Bold and bare rocks rise abruptly from the foot of the town, which is also overlooked by a castle lately ruined by the Turks. The population is about 2000, and of these, thirty houses belong to Romish Chaldeans and Syrians. The Doctor visited here one of the Abbasside Kurd princes, who received him graciously, rising from his seat, and giving him a seat by his side. Akra was also visited by Colonel Sheil.

We left the valley by a hill called Sir Deriyeh, of no great height, but commanding a most extensive prospect, and from whence I got bearings of all the various outlets of waters from the mountains, with also the inlet of Pir Hasan, the only case of the kind that I know in the Kurdistan hills. Below this hill we entered upon the extensive plain of Nav-Kur, studded with villages, but only very partially cultivated; yet more so than in its northern portion, where we had crossed it on our departure. The river Khazir flows through its centre, but afterwards approaches closely to the foot of Jebel Maklub, which it washes at its south-eastern base. We travelled on till dark, and then took up our quarters in the village of Chorek.

July 6th. The Jebel Maklub is prolonged to the south-east by low hills of sandstone, on the side of which is the large village of Zenganah. The Khazir forces its way through these hills at the foot of Maklub, but is again turned off by the hill, indifferently named Ain al Safra (the Yellow Spring), or Ain al Beidha (the White Spring), from two springs on it, so called, which irrigate the lands of the village of Bertulli and others. The Ain al Safra and Maklub appear from Mosul as two distinct hills, but they are united by a low range of sandstone and limestone, amid which is the village and khan of Duberdah. We took breakfast at this place, and trotted from thence to Mosul in four hours, the distance being about eighteen miles.

July 6th. On our return to Mosul, I found the long expected box of instruments arrived from England, but as it had unluckily been forwarded from the coast of Syria on the back of camels, every single object in it

was broken into fragments. On the 9th of July, Riza Mirza, the eldest of the three Persian princes who had visited England a few years back, arrived at Mosul and spent a few days with us. In the latter end of the month a certain Comte de Sivrac arrived upon a mission to the Romish Chaldeans, and was entertained in the old Jesuits' house in the town. Captain Lynch came from Baghdad on August 2nd, accompanied by M. de Sercy, the French ambassador to Persia, and a numerous suite, and they reposed themselves a few days at Mosul.

August 10*th*. As it was becoming a little cooler, I made an excursion to Eski Mosul, proceeding the first evening to Atmeidat, a small village on the banks of the Tigris, three hours north of Mosul. The next day we passed by Badus, through a range of low limestone hills, where Rennell's map indicates ruins, but I could only find the remains of a village, and a pile of stones upon an eminence like a cairn. From the hills we descended to the water-side where were several villages, beyond which were the ruins of a castle situated on a hill called Tell Ajus.

Keeping along the banks of the river, we came to the spot where, from having a south-easterly course, it took a sudden bend to the south, and upon the promontory thus formed, we perceived plainly the ruins of old Mosul. The town had been situated, like the modern town of the same name, upon an isolated mound or terrace of gypsum, but differently with regard to the river. The ruins were not so extensive as to impress me with the idea of the city ever having been larger than the present Mosul, or to have contained a population of

above 20,000 souls, but it had apparently some buildings of as high pretensions to architectural perfection as any at Mosul. The houses having been constructed of pieces of gypsum cemented by mud, were in a very ruinous condition; the foundations, cellars, or serdaubs, or parts of walls, were generally all that remained. The most remarkable edifices were the ruins of a serai, outside of the town, and in the same style as Harun el Rashid's palace at Rakkah; a large building upon an eminence at the north end of the town, now converted into houses; and an oblong building with a façade ornamented with circular columns of gypsum. To the north-west was a curious isolated arch of considerable dimensions, and there were other buildings on the plain.

There was nothing, however, that belonged to a period anterior to the Mohammedan era, and this was the chief point which I wished to determine by this excursion, especially with regard to the existence of two Singaras, admitted by Cellarius, who says, there is a Singara on the Tigris, as is clear from the descriptions of Ptolemy and the Peutingerian Tables; but this can be clearly proved to be an error of Ptolemy's, for after noticing Amida (Diyarbekr), Cepha Castrum (Hisn Kefah), Bezabde (Jezireh), all on the Tigris, and as if following the river, he then notices Sinjar, Betousa, or Betuna, then Labana, and then Birtha; leaving, in fact, the Tigris, and crossing Mesopotamia to the Euphrates, by Sinjar (Singara), Seruj, afterwards Betunæ and Batnæ; and thence to Birtha, now Birehjik, and which, from supposing it to be on the river Tigris, Kinneir wrongly identified with Tekrit.

A short time before we approached the ruins, we

inhabitants (Christian and Mohammedan) of the same classes in Anatolia, in Syria, and Mesopotamia. There are some forms of society, and many decencies of life belonging to improved civilization, that are omitted by the mountaineers; but, there is no doubt that they are, as a race, more quick and impressible, more open, candid, sincere, and courageous, than the inhabitants of the before-mentioned countries. Their bearing is erect, but without the swagger of the Turk; their eye firm, but without ferocity; their forehead ample and high, unclouded by suspicion and evil feelings.

But this slight superiority over neighbouring nations gives them no claim to be looked upon as a people enjoying all the real benefits of the Church to which they belong; their general demeanour and tone, their implacability towards their enemies, and many points in the daily conduct of life, are not only not consonant with, but are severely reprobated by, the religion which they profess to follow. The origin of the demoralization and of the religious and intellectual prostration of this remarkable people, was beyond the control of man, and was primarily connected with those many revolutions with which it has pleased the Almighty to visit Eastern nations; but the present existence and continuance of this state of things is evidently to be attributed to the want of communication with other nations, and to the neglect of education among the clergy as well as the people; and it is sincerely to be hoped that the same day that these facts shall be clearly felt and fully appreciated, will see commence the future regeneration and humanization of one of the most interesting and most

remarkable, yet little known people, that are to be met with on the earth's surface.

It is an agreeable reflection, that the power to rectify their error, if any such exist, lies with themselves, and that they are therefore open to the best and surest means of doing good—friendly and brotherly advice, offered by one who never (as an esteemed authority writes) considers those corruptions as heresies which do not actually tend to destroy the Christian faith. The exercise of such liberality is truly labouring not to increase the power of any particular sect, but to unite the Church throughout the world in brotherly love and sound doctrine.

The tribes of the Chaldean Christians, who are named after the districts in which they live, as far as I could ascertain, through the medium of Mr. Rassam and Davud, are—1. The Tiyari; 2. The Tobi; 3. Jellawi; 4. Piniyaniski; 5. Al Toshi; 6. Artoshi Bashi; 7. Bazi; 8. Sati; 9. Oramari; 10. Julamergi; 11. Jellu; 12. Dez; 13. Siliyahi; 14. Berrawi. Dr. Grant, however, alludes also to the Tehoma, which I suspect is the Chaldean name for the Al Toshi, and which appears to have been given to me in Arabic.

The Christian villages belonging to these tribes, as far as I was able to ascertain, were as follows:—

1. *Berrawi.* Bebal, Ankari, Malaktah, Halwa, Bismiyah, Duri, Iyat, Aina Nuni, Derishki, Mayah, Akushta, Misekeh, Robarah, Dergehli, Tashish, Besh, Hayis: of these, Derishki and Mayah alone have no churches.

2. *Jellu.* Alson, Jellu, Zirinik, Marzaya, Thilana, Ummut, Zir, Sirpil, Bobawa, Bibokra, Shemsiki, Murtoriyi.

3. *Julamergi.* Julamerik, Koch Hannes, Burjullah,

Espin, Gavanis, Kotranis, Euranis, Syrini, Bekajik, Daizi, Shamasha, Murdadishi, Madis, Merzin, Zerwa, Deriki, Kermi, Gesna, Kalanis, Khazakiyin, Kewuli, Meilawa, Pisa, Alonzo.

4. *Tobi*. Gundukda, Muzra, Tomago, Berijai, Jissah.

5. *Baz* or *Bazi*. Orwantiz, Shoavah, Argub, Kojijah,

6. *Dez*. Rabban Dadishuh, Maddis, Chiri, Suwa, Golosel, Mar Kiriyakos, Akoshi, Chalchan, Gorsi, Savams, Chemmasha.

Besides these, there are several districts, containing villages comparatively insignificant, of which neither the number nor locality was noted :—Walti, Neivdi, Gesnak, Daprashin, Burun, Biljani, Garwar, Albak (between Julamerik and the Lake of Van), Shemso-d-din, Shapat, Bratsinnai, Dirakan, and Nurwar, in Amadiyeh or Bahdinan.

I subjoin the report presented to the Royal Geographical Society, as the best estimate that I could form of the population of Chaldean Christians in the mountains.

1. Tiyari	at 20 houses each 24 villages		480 houses		at 8 persons per house		3840
2. Jellu	12	„	240	„	„	„	1920
3. Julamergi	24	„	480	„	„	„	3840
4. Berrawi	17	„	340	„	„	„	2720
5. Tobi	5	„	100	„	„	„	800
6. Baz	4	„	80	„	„	„	640
7. Dez	11	„	220	„	„	„	1760
							15,520

To which are to be added out of Hakkari—

In Bahdinan, 11 villages, 220 houses, and population .	1760	
Town of Amadiyeh, 20 houses	160	
		1920
And 13 districts not well known, which may be estimated at 100 houses each, or 1300 houses, and a population of .		10,400
		27,840

This differs much from other estimations previously published, and the fallacy of Dr. Walsh's estimate of 500,000 Christians must be manifest to all who consider the small extent of territory occupied by these Christians and its limited productive capabilities. But in the fear of exaggerating the existing population of these remarkable people, and in whom I take a real interest, it is certain that I have fallen into the opposite extreme, and underrated their numbers considerably. Thus, for example, the capital of Tiyari, Ashitah, contains of itself a population of 5000 souls, according to Dr. Grant. On our return from Mosul by Buhtan, we found an hitherto unknown Chaldean Episcopate, with nine or ten large villages. The number of Chaldeans on the tributaries of the Khabur in Buhtan, there is every reason to believe is very considerable—I can readily believe it to be equal to the population on the Zab, and Dr. Grant mentions the visit of three Chaldean bishops to the Patriarch, from that country. This gentleman averages the population of Chaldeans at 100,000, and taking our subsequent discovery of their extending to the banks of the Tigris and the Buhtan river (Centrites), it is probable that this represents, in round numbers, the proximate Chaldean population of the mountains.

CHAPTER XLII.

Armenian Monastery.

Start from Julamerik. The Jellu or Jawur Mountains. District of Dez Chaldeans. High Uplands of Kurdistan. Murder of the Traveller Schultz. Old Armenian Monastery. Superstitious Stone. An Insolent Kurd. District of Salamast, in Persia. Lake and district of Urimiyeh. The American Mission. Persians of Urimiyeh.

June 22*nd.* In the morning we left Pagi, on our way to Bash Kalah, or the Castle at the Head-waters of the Zab. Our road lay over the mountain of Tur Burju-llah, a huge mass of granite, which it took us two hours to compass; and from whence we descended into the valley, or rather upland, of Koch Hannes, a pretty, small village, advancing over the valley of the Zab, and containing the principal residence of the Patriarch of the Chaldeans. A servant of the house came out to meet us, and brought flowers and a repast from

the ladies of the household. Some of the Kurds of Julamerik were in their tents in this valley, which is watered by a great number of torrents supplied by the snows of Burju-llah.

We rode some distance along the sides of Koch Hannes hill, having a higher range, that of Areb Tagh, before us. We descended hence by a long and steep, but wooded pathway, along which we were obliged as usual to proceed on foot, to a valley where were many villages and delightful groves, with a varied and abundant vegetation. We then ascended again to a cultivated upland at the foot of Areb Tagh, where were the Chaldean villages of Espin and Gharanis, both having towers of defence against the predatory expeditions of the Kurds. Gharanis was a good specimen of the poorer class of Chaldean villages—small, but with a bold look; poor, but religious; the inhabitants of five houses had two churches and one fort.

We passed the evening at Gharanis, where the poor Chaldeans complained much of the robberies of the Kurds, and protested strongly against our bivouacking outside of the village; representing the many dangers in so lively a form as to make converts of Mr. Rassam, Davud, and the muleteers, who retired to the shelter of one of their homely huts. But I dreaded vermin, which were so many realities, more than the Kurds, who were as yet only imaginary things, and got the Greek servant to sleep out with me on the greensward, where we enjoyed a quiet night, and, at an altitude of 7000 feet above the sea, a most delicious temperature, the thermometer on waking indicating only 40·4° Fahr., or 8° 4′ above freezing-point in the middle of

summer. The prospect from Gharanis was exceedingly extensive and very beautiful, rivalling in some respects, although of a different character, the scenery on first entering the country of the Tiyari. The outline and forms of the mountains which contituted the lofty chain of Tura Jellu or Jawur Tagh, were never so distinctly seen. I could take bearings to all the chief points, which are at once the loftiest and by far the most steep and rugged of the Kurdistan mountains, and indeed of all Taurus. There were immediately before us four or five abrupt, truncated, culminating points; between which were ridges of sharp pinnacles, rising like sky-towers, and overlooking deep and precipitous ravines, filled with their vast deposit of perpetual snow.

The quantity of water poured down by the mountains on every side was very great. During the journey of the day, scarcely ever had the din of one torrent begun to grow dim upon the ear, than the sound of another broke upon the silence around. Three different streams poured in lofty falls over the side of Koch Hannes mountain alone, to unite in one before reaching the valley of the river of Espin.

The silver crest of the lofty peaks of Mar Hanan also extended to the north-west, the sun's setting beams lighting up their long continuous summits like a great icy coronal set upon the sea of silent hills, which filled the remainder of this beauteous landscape, and which we now felt loth to leave, still more so from the prospect of a burning plain before us; but we remembered that we had still to cross the same chain,—still perchance to breathe freely on the summit of the peak of Rowandiz.

June 23rd. There are two roads from Gharanis, one

over the mountains, the other by the valley of the Zab. We took the latter, although the longer, in order to visit some sulphur-mines said to exist there, and to avoid the Artushi or Ardushi Kurds, who were not well spoken of.

We made two slight ascents and descents before we came to the sulphur deposit. This we first met with at the bottom of the valley; it consisted of sulphur mixed with blue lime shales, sometimes granular, but mostly pulverulent. The second deposit was half a mile beyond, in breccia of blue limestone, between the fragments of which was a small quantity of crystalline sulphur. Neither of these deposits was of much importance from its extent, but geologically they resembled much what is observed in the plains of Mesopotamia. A warm spring, emitting hydro-sulphurous acid, also occurred in the vicinity.

On leaving these mines, I overtook the remainder of the party in the valley of the Zab, which flowed in a ravine a few hundred feet below us, but the valley itself was several miles in width, wooded or cultivated, with numerous villages, chiefly of Chaldeans, and bounded by lofty hills, generally wooded and without snow;—altogether a pleasing scene, and a country of very great resources.

Passing the Chaldean village of Kermi, we continued some miles along this fertile alpine vale, till we observed it joined from the south by a tributary to the Zab, coming from the Tura Jellu and flowing along another extensive, open, and wooded valley, crowded with the villages of the Dez or Diss Chaldeans. This is certainly an extended territory, of high capabilities

under a protectting government and a progressing civilization.

A short distance beyond this, we turned off from the valley of the Zab, into a little rock-inclosed but cultivated district, revealing two large Chaldean villages. The outline of the mountains had now become less rugged, the uplands were more lofty, and the chains more continuous. We met in our road with a well-armed caravan of mules going to Julamerik. By the road-side grew large golden poppies; and where marshy, Butomus umbellatus.

In the evening, we found that we were again in the valley of the Zab, which had made a great easterly curve, and now winded through a marshy upland vale; at the end of this it received a large tributary, which we crossed by a bridge. Ascending an upland a little above the Zab we reached the Chaldean village of Meilawa. These Chaldeans are subject to Bash Kalah, and no longer claim the distinction of belonging to a tribe.

The country towards the head-waters of the Zab beyond this quite changed its characters. There were still a few mountain points, as Arghi Tagh, to the south-east, with a bold outlying rock, called the Rock of Fire. To the north, between Bash Kalah and Lake Van, was the Erdish Tagh; but the outline of the chains is now tame and rounded, the ranges being neither serrated nor boldly defined, and rising so little above the level of the upland as to have the appearance rather of hills than mountains. But the generally alpine character of the whole country was rendered apparent by a variety of prominent features; the bleak

and bare aspect of the soil—the little cultivation, and that so tardy—the reluctant vegetation of coarse grasses and sedges—the hardy and ligneous character of the perennial species of plants—and the waters flowing towards the lofty chains to the west—spoke of their altitude in language as strong as the diminished pressure of the atmosphere, whether indicated by the length of a column of mercury or by the low temperature of the boiling-point of water. Meilawa, by the latter indications, was at an elevation of 6418 feet.

The cottages of this village somewhat resembled those of Upper Armenia, and as the snow was deep and lasted long, they were built of mud, nearly level with the soil, and half borrowed from the ground. They were at the same time so dispersed in a ravine that there was no greensward to sleep on; so while Rassam and Davud retreated to the shelter of one of these dirty styes, for the cattle, sheep, and poultry all abide under the same cover, I ensconced myself, with the Greek, in the interior of a cone of peat, piled up in that form in order to dry, and we had hardly spread our carpet in this curious mansion before a party of armed Kurds came up, seeking for quarters, and ultimately forcing Rassam and Davud into a stable. They sat for some time round the peat cone, little suspecting that there were two more travellers, upon whom they were heaping all kinds of abusive terms, in the interior.

June 24th. Our road still continued up the open valley of the Zab. Two hours and a half brought us to where two streams meet; the one from the mountains beyond Bash Kalah, the other from Kanda Kilissa. We soon came in view of Bash Kalah, about two miles

to our left. It is a large village, distributed round the base of a more conical hill than that of Julamerik, and, like it, supporting a castle. It is said to contain 200 houses, inhabited by Kurds, Jews, and Armenians. It is governed by an officer of the Bey of Julamerik, and is tributary to the Pasha of Van.

At one part of the valley of the Zab some rocky ridges of yellow limestone come down close to the river's edge, which they shut up in a narrow glen. There are no less than three different castles, square courts, with towers at the angles, commanding this pass. Two are in ruins, but one, Kalah Karani, is still in good repair. Our guides this morning had been a good deal disturbed by the appearanee of six armed Kurds, who followed us for three or four hours, always keeping, however, out of shot. This was an advantageous place for an attack on our small party, for our three Chaldeans had left us at Julamerik, and been replaced by a peaceful, talkative priest, but nothing was attempted.

This place, which Dr. Grant designates a valley in a small creek, appears to be the spot where Schultz* fell a victim to the perfidy of the Kurds. Dr. Grant was informed that a small pile of stones marks his solitary resting-place; had I known this, I would certainly have sought out the tomb of so distinguished a traveller. It is said that one of Schultz's servants escaped to Bash Kalah, where he was taken and put to death, lest he should divulge the circumstances of the

* Dr. Schultz was a scientific traveller, sent into these countries by the French government, and well known to geographers by his discovery of the city of Semiramis on the borders of Lake Van.

murder of his master. Entire secresy was enjoined to every one; but it was not long before the report reached Persia, and redress was demanded by the Prince of Urimiyeh, in consequence of which the immediate agent in the murder was put to death, by the more infamous instigator of the deed, Nurrulah Bey.

Some assert that the desire of plunder was the motive which led to the death of this indefatigable traveller. He is said to have entered the country with considerable baggage, and to have made valuable presents to the chiefs, who hence were led to suppose that his effects were of inestimable worth. Dr. Grant, however, gives another version of the story: he says that he was assured by many of the most intelligent of the Chaldeans and Armenians, who were in the country at the time, that Schultz had just made a visit to the orpiment mines, and that the Kurds believed, from the brilliant yellow colour of the mineral, that he had found it to contain gold, and that he would cause an army to come and take possession of their country. This impression was strengthened by the circumstance that he was seen making scientific observations, measuring their castles, and writing down the observations he had made. This statement has all the appearance of truth, and all the time that I was at Julamerik myself the Patriarch and my companions asserted that our lives would be endangered by my taking notes in public, which led me to forego the practice.

Keeping still up the valley of the Zab we came to an ancient Armenian monastery, well built, with sloping roof, and bell-towers, containing two bells, regularly rung at service. It is curious that the Armenians, who

are dependent, should have preserved this custom, while the Chaldeans, who are independent, have no bells in their churches. This is a very ancient Armenian monastery, and a sketch of it is given at the head of this chapter. It is called Kanda Kilissa, and is inhabited by a bishop and priest; the former of whom, an intelligent man, assigned to it an age of 1600 years. The door-way was a handsome specimen of Saracenic architecture, though defaced by a colossal bas-relief of the Almighty, a monstrous production, resembling a great idol. Around the arch were also other figures, with large heads of hair. On the bodies of these were some antique carvings, among which were some letters resembling those which had been identified as Armenian at Al Hadhr. The church of Kanda is defended by a rampart and bastions, and has two outer courts with defences. On a height above is a modern castle, with a guard of about forty Kurds from Bash Kalah; for this is the frontier of the country.

At this point the Zab is divided into two streams, one of which comes from the southern declivities of the Erdish Tagh, in the district of Albak; the other from Koniyeh, Karasun, and Kashen, where three different springs exist at an elevation of 7500 feet, coinciding with what might be expected from the observed elevation of the Zab in the present upland valley, so near its sources, and where it is a mere brook, 6300 feet at Meilawa, 6800 feet at Kanda Kilissa. They rise between the territory of Salamast and Kotur, in the Sir Albak (Head of Albak), from the sides of which the waters flow in three opposite directions to the Lake of Urimiyeh, to the Caspian, and to the Persian Gulf.

June 25th. This morning we left the valley of the last tributaries to the Zab, and entered upon a hilly country, with occasional ravines in limestone. It was so cold before sunrise that we were glad to walk to keep ourselves warm. In one of these ravines was a block of limestone with a semi-cylindrical hollow, to which is attached the tradition that a prince of Salamast was formerly converted to Christianity, and was in consequence pursued to the mountains; that he attempted to secrete himself in this hollow, but was slain there by his enemies. This locality of an antique martyrdom was treated with great respect by the Chaldeans in our company, who kissed it and then rubbed themselves in the hollow. The stone is well polished by these absurd observances.

Trachytic rocks and basalts break forth amid these limestone rocks, and constitute a group of hills, Tura Khani Sir, or Akronal, which rise above a fine pasturing valley, with a lake in one part of it, and which was now occupied by an encampment of Persian Kurds. It takes its name from a ruined kerwanserai in the valley. We had now entered Persian Kurdistan, and as we wended our way along the valley, an armed Kurd rode up to us, his face half hid by his turban, as is customary upon a predatory expedition, when they pass two folds under the chin to protect the side of the head from sword cuts. Our new companion did not speak a word, but scowled most ferociously into our faces and then examined our baggage. I had given my horse to one of the muleteers, and did not pay much attention to the advent of a single horseman, whom it was preposterous to suppose was going to attempt to rob

a whole party, till Mr. Rassam dropped behind to complain to me of the extraordinary conduct of the Kurd. I then mounted my horse, and riding up along-side of him, met him scowl for scowl, for I could not speak Kurdish and ask him what he meant, and Davud appeared to dislike very much being interpreter upon such occasions: so we rode on a short time in this amicable manner. There was a gentle eminence before us; once over this, and we were out of sight of the encampment, and then I was resolved to come to a practical understanding with our single enemy; but he was too wary for this, for we had just gained the height, when he turned his horse's head, and leaping off, sat down on the grass, leaving us to proceed alone.

We crossed over a ridge of trachytes and descended by Khani Berin, re-ascending amid low hills, from whence we obtained our first view of the fertile plain of Salamast, with the Lake of Urimiyeh beyond. There are moments which never slip from a traveller's memory, as when, after a long journey on a heated or monotonous plain, a range of mountains, with their anticipations of cool waters and refreshing breezes, come into sight, or when, fatigued with mountain-toil and travel, a plain, smiling with gardens and villages, and full of promises of delicious repose, presents itself to his delighted vision.

Our descent to the plain from hence occupied us, however, three long hours, when we reached some basaltic cliffs, which led directly to the cultivated plain. On one of them were the foundations of a castle constructed of stones of large dimensions; to the south was also a bold rock of limestone, which protruded out of

the plain, bearing the ruins of Karnawi or Marandos castle; and before us rose a small hill, the last of the basaltic knolls, with a small Christian church. Pits were dug in the bed of a river close to us to obtain gravel, which is sifted and then sprinkled over the land to adapt it for growing water-melons. Two more hours amid villages and gardens brought us to the Chaldean village of Khosrau, the Chosroes of historians, where lived a female relative of the Patriarch's, to whom he had given us a letter of introduction. We were accordingly kindly received in a pretty little country house. where the servants very soon waited upon us to announce that everything that was in the house was at our service; but the lady herself (her husband being absent) did not make her appearance.

The immense advance made by the Tajiks (genuine Persians) over the Osmanli Turks, is visible in a multitude of small things as well as in the general whole, the moment the traveller enters Persia by whatever quarter. I had felt this much on a former occasion, on passing from Basrah to Bushire (Abou Shehr), but it was difficult to tell then what was not derived from their frequent communication with the British. In this present case, however, there was no immediate European or even American influence, and yet there existed numerous little comforts, as candlesticks, snuffers, bellows, fire-irons, &c., almost unknown to the Osmanli. The whole furniture of the houses was of a better order; the houses themselves were more tasteful and more ornamental; the gardens were inclosed and taken care of; there were carts in the streets; and even the burial-ground was strewn with rude sculptures. The

Tajiks are also as superior to the Turks in manners as they are in general civilization.

The district of Salamast is covered with villages, which have, as in many parts of the East, a common market, where is also the residence of the governor, and the whole is inclosed like a fort. This place is designated sometimes Salamast, sometimes Dilman, but is generally known in ordinary parlance as Shehr, "the Town," simply. It is the same with the district of Urimiyeh. In all this part of Persia a bad Turkish is the language generally spoken; the better classes alone are acquainted with Persian.

June 26th. We rode by Ula, where the American missionaries have a school, and Turmel, to the hills which advance in bold rocks, bearing two castles over the Lake of Urimiyeh, and which are designated Kara Bash (Black Head). But they have a culminating point westward, which had still a few patches of snow on its hoary head, and which, rising about a thousand feet above the level of the lake, is called Zendasht Tagh, or Tur Zendasht, by the Chaldeans.

On our descent from the range of hills, we came down not far from the great lake of Urimiyeh, which in its wide expanse resembles an inland sea, being about eighty miles in length and thirty in width. Its banks are not wooded, but, when not rocky, occupied by saline marshes, which produce nothing but the plants common to such a soil. The waters are so salt that fish cannot live in it, but the shores are occasionally enlivened by water-fowl; among which the brilliant flamingo is the most conspicuous.

We halted at the Chaldean village of Gawalan, to

the north of which, and not far from the lake, was the larger Christian village, called Jemalaweh by the Chaldeans, but Jelalabad by the Persians. We visited the house of the priest, which was full of females and children; and after the customary compliments I retired to a garden in the neighbourhood, where I could sit and write at my ease. Not a being came to disturb me, save my faithful Greek, who brought me my dinner shortly after sunset, and at night came and took up his quarters under an adjacent tree.

June 27th. Our road lay along the banks of the lake, but at some distance from the water, and over a dry, gravelly, or sandy plain, covered with a species of ononis and mesembryanthemum, amid which, when the soil was slightly saline, predominated a species of salsola; when very saline, a salicornia; when scarcely at all salt, Nigella Damascena, Capparis spinosa and C. ovata. Thus, at an elevation of 4300 feet, we had at once the vegetation of Mesopotamia and of Babylonia, the nigella especially reminding one of Mosul, the mesembryanthema of Hillah, but vegetation was more dense; and the perpetual artemisiæ of the lower plains were a good deal replaced by Astragalus verus and A. tragacanthoides. Amid these were numerous vagabond flowering plants, which did not, however, affect the main features of the vegetation. Springs of water were frequent at the foot of the hills, but generally brackish. Major Rawlinson has described the lake as supplied by several salt rivers on the eastern side.

It appeared to me that the lake had with the progress of time rather diminished in size than otherwise, and which would be substantiated by its excessive salt-

ness, as well as by the considerable lacustrine deposit that extends along its shores, characterized by its vegetation of saline plants. The Major is inclined to take an opposite view of the subject, and to consider the lake as encroaching upon the land. This may very well be occasionally the case, as in different seasons of the year, when the supplies from the rivers are greater or less, and again at certain times when whole rivers are absorbed in irrigation, or are allowed free course to the lake, as is related by Major Rawlinson of the Jaghatu and the Tatau: but these are accidental phenomena, while the great extent of alluvium, which has evidently been deposited by the waters of the lake, leaves no doubt of the general change produced in a great period of time, notwithstanding the temporary variation in the level of the waters.

The district of Urimiyeh presents an extraordinary scene to a person accustomed to the treeless monotony of the plains of Mesopotamia. A more fertile district can scarcely be imagined. One vast extent of groves, orchards, vineyards, gardens, rice-grounds, and villages, sometimes with a village common, it much resembled the best parts of Lombardy, between Milan and the Lago Maggiore.

All the latter part of our journey was carried for many hours over the same plain of exuberant fertility, clothed with a luxuriant verdure, fruitful fields, gardens and vineyards, irrigated by streams of pure water, from the adjacent mountains. The landscape is one of the most lovely in the East; and the effect is not a little heightened by the contrast of such surprising fertility, with the stern aspect of the surrounding heights, on

which not a solitary tree is to be seen; while in the plain, the willows, poplars, and sycamores, by the water-courses, the peach, apricot, pear, plum, cherry, quince, apple, and vine, in the orchards, impart to large sections the appearance of a rich, variegated forest.

Towards evening we arrived at the ancient city of Urimiyeh, containing a population of about twenty thousand souls, mostly Mohammedans, and inclosed by a fosse and wall of nearly four miles in circut.

The American mission at this place, which has now attained so much power and prosperity, was founded in November, 1835, by the Rev. J. Perkins and Dr. Grant, accompanied by their wives. The Rev. A. L. Halladay and Mr. W. R. Stocking arrived with their wives, in June, 1837; Rev. W. Jones and wife, November, 1839; Rev. A. H. Wright, M.D., July, 1840; and we met on the way from Trebizond, at the time of our return, Mr. Edward Breath, a printer, who was charged with a a press of such construction as to allow of its transportation on horses.

The labours of this mission have been most successful and praiseworthy. Twelve or fourteen free-schools have been opened in the villages of the plain; a seminary and girls' boarding-school have been established on the mission premises in the city; considerable portions of the Scriptures have been translated into the vernacular language of the Chaldeans. The Chaldeans on their part have opened their churches for their Sabbath-schools, and the preaching of the Gospel, and native *helpers* are being raised up and qualified for usefulness; the missionaries have been allowed to prosecute their labours without a breath of opposition from the ecclesiastics or the

people; they have, when difficulties have occurred with the local authorities, been assisted by the influence of the British Embassy in Persia, and nothing at present threatens to interfere with the noble field of labour which they have monopolised to themselves, and the gracious enterprise in which such good spirits are associated.

A drawback has occurred, however, to this picture of prosperity in doing good, in the afflictions which the mission families have suffered from the inroads of the malaria of the country. From this sad disease Dr. Grant lost his wife, in the year 1839, and probably from the same causes, they have found it a most difficult matter to rear children, who are almost always carried off in early life.

Mr. Rassam and myself had only provided ourselves, on our departure from Mosul, with such clothing as the necessities of the journey would positively require from us, as we were not at all certain that we should be able to penetrate into and traverse Kurdistan, without being robbed even of that small quota. From these circumstances, partly also as a visit to the American missionaries might have detained us a few days at Urimiyeh, which would have put us to inconvenience, and still further, as I expected in the autumn months to have been able to return and lay down the whole details of the Lake of Urimiyeh, in my way from Armenia, we thought it better for the moment to defer introducing ourselves to the numerous members of the mission. I myself had at the same time, from so long breathing the pure air of the mountains, imbibed quite a horror of the confinement of a house in the hot plains, and while Mr. Rassam, Davud, and the remainder

proceeded to the khan in the city, I laid my carpet under a tree not far from the way-side, where I was not long in being visited by numerous Persians, whose Turkish puzzled me at first, and especially their word for *good*, which, in Turkish *a-e*, is by them called *yak-tchi*. Observing that I was amused by hearing a native singing as he went by, they extended their politeness to sending for a man whom they said could sing in the most superlatively yak-tchi manner, and I was thus doomed to listen for nearly half an hour, to certainly most extraordinary vocal exertions. After dark my Greek servant came from the town and brought with him cherries, a fruit I had not tasted for a long time, and he afterwards took up his quarters near me.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Start from Urimiyeh. Timidity of the Persians. Town of Ushnei. Pass of the Keli Shin. Ascent of the Peak of Rowandiz. Prospect from the Summit. Persian Fire-Temples on High-Places. Descent of the Mountain. Fort of Sidek, or Sidaka. Approach to Rowandiz.

June 28*th*. Leaving Urumiyeh we crossed the river of Suhur by a bridge of five arches, and passing a low range of hills entered upon a very fertile low rice country, which extended nearly to the banks of the lake, and to the south, gradually became a marsh, which must be impassable at certain seasons of the year. When we came to the banks of the Burranduz river, we could not find a ford, and after attempting it for some time, we were forced to return to the village of Asinijik, where we obtained a guide, and ultimately forded the river, about a mile below where we first attempted it. Beyond this we advanced upon an extensive plain and pasture-land, everywhere covered with large herds of horses and cattle, and flocks of sheep and goats. There were also many villages, and every appearance of prosperity and fertility all along the east side of the same mountains, which on the western side are, generally speaking, so sterile and unproductive.

We brought up for the night on these pasture-lands, not far from the fortified farm of Uladi, where we could obtain bread and milk. The peasants, as usual, recommended us taking up our quarters within the farm, and represented, with true Persian exaggeration, all the

dangers of sleeping out on the plain; however, upon this occasion we all bivouacked out together, nor did any one come to give us any trouble.

June 29th. Passing the villages of Thomator (Christian) and that of Char, each with its mud fort, we entered upon the hills which now separated us from the plain of Ushnei, or Shino, as it is generally called. We entered by a ravine, about one mile and a half up which we found the village of Kasinli, the hills around rising barely 800 feet above the valley. At mid-day, after travelling six hours, we came to an upland of sienitic rocks, having traversed which, we descended upon the plain of Ushnei, and passing the Christian village of Cham, rode through Ushnei without stopping, and bivouacked in a field beyond the town.

The plain of Ushnei is traversed in its centre by the river Gader, and may be estimated at eight to nine miles in length and two to three in width. It contains eight villages besides the residence of the governor and market-place (Ushnei), and two forts, both near the river. This plain is at an elevation, by boiling-point thermometer, of 4619 feet, which appears from the short course of the Gader to be correct.

The mountains of Keli Shin rise from 1000 to 1500 feet above the plain, or about 6000 feet above the level of the sea; and they presented a nearly continuous extent of snow, descending 500 feet down their eastern declivities to the zone of fennel. The plain itself appears to have been once a lake, which was gradually filled up by deposits of gravel brought down by the Gader, and which at the upper end of the plain attain a depth of upwards of 100 feet. A mud fort of no

great antiquity, two miles south-west of Ushnei, has been raised from its previous insignificance by the learning and research of Major Rawlinson, and proved to occupy the site of Saragana, where the army of Narses effected its junction with the Armenian contingent. It derives, however, still more importance from its corroborating the ancient existence of a great thoroughfare across the mountains by Herir, Rowandiz and Sidek.

We suffered some inconvenience from the picturesque red turbaned Kurds of Ushnei, who held various debates concerning the appropriation of our goods; but still more from the exaggerated fears of the more poltroon black capped gentlemen, who visited us in nùmbers in the field near the town, where we had extended our carpets and turned out the horses and mules to grass, and made such representations of the dangers we had to encounter on entering the mountains, and that we might even experience from remaining where we were, as quite to discomfit a portion of our party. When night came, I made strong representations as to the necessity of our dividing the watch, but Mr. Russell was no longer with us, and I was left in the minority of one; Mr. Rassam and poor Davud had crept together on the same carpet, and were positively crouched up and disabled by fear, so at length the Greek and I were obliged to divide the night between ourselves, and it is unnecessary to say, that it was undisturbed even by the hooting of an owl.

The next day, Mr. Rassam, Davud, and the muleteers, united in objecting to proceed without a guard from the Khan of Ushnei, which the two former volunteered to procure, much against my inclination, and to

our ultimate inconvenience. In the first place we did not get off till the afternoon, waiting for said guard, which turned out to be two useless and badly-armed khawasses; and secondly, there was a great road across the Keli Shin, direct from Ushnei, by which I should have seen the celebrated pillar, with Persepolitan characters, that exists in this pass, but which I was deprived of, by being led out of the way, and unnecessarily to the summer quarters of the Zerza Kurds. My regret has, however, been lessened, by reading Major Rawlinson's account of the same stone and writing, which, if engraved on the compact blue slate or schist of the neighbouring mountains, as appears from that gentleman's description to be the case, must be irrecoverably illegible. It is satisfactorily determined, however, to be a cuneiform inscription.

We bivouacked close by the tents of the Kurds, who supplied us abundantly with milk, butter, and other pastoral dainties, and which are truly such, in a hot climate; and being under the protection of these rude mountaineers, we were not harassed by the repetition of the same fear-begetting tales with which we had been surfeited every evening, since we had been in Persian Kurdistan.

July 2nd. We started at an early hour for the ascent of the Keli Shin, which was performed on foot; but we were delayed by the non-arrival of the Kurds who were to act as guards, and without whom the muleteers would not proceed; when they came up, only two were armed, and these began, in the most haughty and insolent manner, to ask for pipes, which were at once refused to them. We then proceeded on our

journey, and crossing the first range, gained a country with less snow and more wood, and with many flocks of sheep and goats feeding on the mountain sides. We soon, however, came to another range, with glaciers, the slope of which created some anxiety. We passed three of these, however, in safety; it was more fearful to look at another passing over them than to venture oneself; a single slip would infallibly have hurried a person to eternity.

When we gained the next crest, the peak of Rowandiz was only distant from us two more summits and crests, and was easily attainable. I had gone behind a rock to take a few bearings without attracting attention, when I heard a quarrel, and upon my return found Rassam and Davud agitated with alarm. The Kurds had insisted on being paid according to their unlimited demands, and upon the mountain where we were. I was glad of this, as there was now an opportunity of repaying them for their previous insolence, which had indeed been intolerable all the way. They were now alone on the mountain, and the Greek and myself were infinitely better armed than they, and our arms in better condition, so we told them to go about their business, they should not have a farthing. Mr. Rassam, however, who was for pacific measures, promised one of the guides to pay him at Rowandiz. Finding that they could get nothing from us here, the two ruffians went off, which was an agreeable riddance.

We now continued our ascent of the mountain. Vast piles of snow, accumulated by the drift winds to a depth of many hundred feet, were only broken through by bold and sharp rocky pinnacles of grey and green

quartz, or broke off abruptly over dark precipices of brown and blue schists, shivering away in silvery leaflets, and shaking in the breeze more like fragments of the ice-heap than of the mountain. The Aretia alpina, and here and there a saxifrage, were the only remaining specimens of vegetation; on some sheltered moist spots grew, in isolated masses, Polytrichum septentrionale.

Proceeding over the first mountain, we had a descent to make through a ravine filled with snow, then another ascent steep and rocky, and another glacier, till hope deferred made the heart sick. At length we came to a precipice formed by a vast dyke of sienites, which crossed the whole crest, and constituted the summit of the peak of Rowandiz, or Sheikhiwa, as it is called by the Kurds. We were now obliged to climb, but perseverance soon brought us to the top, from whence we enjoyed a view of almost all Northern Kurdistan, favoured as we were by an uncommonly clear and fine day; nothing but the haze, produced by the intense heat of the plain, prevented our seeing Mosul. Indeed, it was well that, before my departure, I had taken several bearings from Mosul to this mountain, for since the great heats had come on, it had been no longer visible. The elevation of Rowandiz, by boiling-point thermometer, we found to be 10,568 feet.

But, although remarkable by its position, there is no doubt that some of the summits of the Jellu mountains, which are peaks rising on a sea of peaks, or mountains superposed on a group of mountains, exceed it in elevation. Such more particularly is the mountain called Sheikiv, and of which Sheikiwah is the diminutive, thus indicating that the Kurds consider the former as

the higher mountain. This mountain constitutes what may be considered as the southerly peak of the Tura Jellu or Jawur Tagh, unless the Keli Shin and Sheikhiwa mountains are regarded, as they may strictly be, as a continuation of the same chain. All the loftiest alps occur towards the heads of the tributaries of the Great Zab, adhering to the narrow line of the granitic axis, and lower towards the head-waters of the Little Zab. At the same time, I doubt if there are any mountains in Kurdistan which attain an elevation of 15,000 feet, as marked on Colonel Monteith's map; the highest summits of the Jellu or Jawur Tagh, viewed in comparison with Sheikhiwa, not appearing to have a greater elevation than 12,000 or 13,000 feet.

On looking around, I was particularly delighted by the number of old friends which I could distinguish. First, and most prominent, were the Jellu mountains, from which I was separated by what might truly be called a tremendous country of awful chasms and steep precipices; although, when one comes to face these difficulties, such a pigmy is man compared with surrounding nature, that they are merely steep slopes which he may tread, just as an ant finds a firm hold upon what to us appears the smooth surface of a stone.

Advancing from the mountain of Sheikiv upon the valley of the Zab, which here and there displayed itself glittering out from the wooded vale below like a minute silver thread, was the bold but less lofty mountain of Linitka; beyond was the chain of Matineh, and nearer, that of Ghara Tobi and Rash Kaim, which terminated with their rugged summits the prospect to the north-west. It is the abrupt termination of these chains, and

the opening that extends between them and the Zobar country and mountains, which allows of the Sheikhiwa being seen from Mosul. To the west, was first the bold and wooded mountain of Sir-i-Burd, with the beauteous vale of Sidaka, or Sidek, at its base; and beyond this the giant precipices of limestone which guard Rowandiz, and which open their rocky breast to allow the waters of four rivers to mingle together. To the south-west, the country was lower, yet I recognised some well-known points near Keuy Sanjiak, while the lofty summits of the Kandilan mountains limited the prospect to the south. To the east was the noble expanse of Lake Urimiyeh, and the comparatively low country of Lahijan and Solduz, backed by the hills of Sardusht and Mikri, and stretching beyond till lost in the haze of a mid-day sun.

It was with regret that we tore ourselves from this magnificent prospect; added to which, the mountain itself had a charm which was deeply felt by all. It, perhaps, more particularly originated in the deep silence which reigned upon this lofty summit, and which appeared as if for ever unbroken on the spot which thus rose up to the region of the clouds so perfectly alone, so pure in its canopy of white, and with an atmosphere so substantially deep and blue, that it seemed a cloud of itself; and the spectator shuddered to think himself upon its bosom!

It has been truly remarked, that,

> Not vainly did the early Persian make
> His altar the high places and the peak
> Of earth-o'ergazing mountains*.

* If Major Rawlinson be correct in supposing that the mountain of Asnavend, which bore one of the three original sacred fires—that

After half-running, half-sliding, we found ourselves in an hour comfortably seated just below the inferior limits of snow, where a fire had been kindled, and breakfast was prepared to reward us for our toil. There were also a host of Kurdish shepherds, who had gathered round to wonder who were the madmen—for they were polite enough to deem us such—who had come to run, as if in derision, over their snow-clad mountains*.

A large caravan passed along the road in the course of the morning, and, indeed, notwithstanding the predatory habits of the Kurds, this is in summer-time one of the most frequented passes in this part of the country, the same merchants having recourse in severer seasons to the

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of Azer Geshesp—was at or near the famous Keli Shin, this high and remarkable mountain was the most likely to be chosen as the site of the temple; but it may be objected both to the heikhiwa and to the Keli Shin, that they are rendered almost inaccessible by snow and glaciers, and I am much more inclined to seek for the site of Asnavend at the peak of Atash Tagh (Fire Rock), before noticed, which is a commanding yet accessible eminence, and better adapted to the description given in the Zend Avesta, where Mount Asnavend is mentioned as between Var Khosrau, or Lake of Van, and Var Tekhesht, or Lake of Urimiyeh.

* I here lost the last opportunity of obtaining a snow worm; a creature abundantly noticed by old naturalists, as Aristotle, Pliny, Ælian, and Theophrastus. Strabo says, they exist in Armenia, and contain good water, which may be drank, after tearing the vesicles that contain it. He also gives their names after Apollonidus. When at Mosul, I had been positively promised by the Chaldeans that they would obtain one of these natural curiosities for me; but although I afterwards offered a premium for the discovery none were brought, notwithstanding that their existence is mentioned by all as a well-known matter of fact.

road by Rowandiz to So-uj Bolak; but in winter, all roads are equally impassable. The elevation of our halting-place was 8568 feet.

On leaving our station we kept rounding the acclivities of the mountain for several hours, during which we passed over a great variety of rock formations, and rivulets, or rather torrents, pouring down from the perpetual glaciers of this lofty peak. The first rivulet we met with came from a small lake at the south-west side of the mountain, which had, apparently but a few years ago, broken its boundaries and scattered over the valley a vast accumulation of rocks, boulders, and pebbles. We then passed no less than three successive torrents, each from eleven to fifteen feet in width, and pouring along with such rapidity that the legs of the hardy Kurd mules trembled beneath them when urged into the stream. The various streams united in a beautiful wooded vale lying still many hundred feet beneath us, and containing several villages of Kurds, for there were no more Chaldeans in this part of the mountains.

Still curving round the acclivities of the mountain we entered upon a forest of oak, with an undergrowth of jasmine, small honeysuckle, and cercis. This region was the most agreeable in the mountains; the temperature was mild, and the air light and pleasant; there was neither the heat nor parched vegetation of the plains, nor was there the snows and extreme cold, with the fierceness of torrents and rugged torn-up fragments of rock, to be met with in the higher regions. It took us four long hours' ride to descend from our station to the head of the valley of Sidaka, or Sidek, which we had no sooner gained than we found mulberry-trees

loaded with fruit, which, as may be naturally expected, put a great impediment in the way of progress, as every one was helping himself according to his means.

The change in the temperature and vegetation was, as may be imagined, very great. We were in the midst of rice and melon cultivation, and surrounded by groves of mulberry. Several little villages were scattered along the side of the river of Sidaka, or upon the declivities of the hills. The valley is, strictly speaking, a ravine at the base of the Sheikhiwa; it and the surrounding country still remain under the government of the Bey of Rowandiz. The tribe dwelling in this vale called themselves Pir Astini. We proceeded a few miles down the valley, and then brought-to in some pasture lands with hedges and trees, resembling, in almost every particular, a way-side in our own country. Not far from us was a small village, called Jeffuli, from whence we obtained the usual necessaries.

July 2nd. Next day we continued our journey along the valley of Sidaka, as it is called by the Kurds, and by the Persians Sidek. It was narrow, and densely wooded. Not far from the end of the valley we crossed a small but rapid river by a bridge carried over a ravine, a little beyond which was a brook, and between the two a bold naked mass of rock is isolated, so as to strike out of the valley with precipitous walls. On this projection is the fort of Sidaka, a square court, with four round towers at the angles; but having also in front another curtain and gateway, defended by two more towers. Before the castle is the village, which contains about 100 houses. Although the present castle is a comparatively modern building, the rock on which it stands

appears to have been chiselled on its face at a very remote date, for the waters have since that period wrought changes which are easily distinguishable from what was done in ancient times to render the rock more difficult of approach. There is every reason to believe, from the peculiarities of its position, as well as from its antique appearance, that it was a station or fort at the time when this was the great road from Nineveh to Ecbatana. A wooded open valley unites with the Sidek vale from the south-east, and the united waters flow into the comparatively open country between Sir Linitka and Sir-i-Burd.

It is not improbable that I was the first European who, in modern times, has visited this remarkable fort, or who, indeed, has crossed the mountains of Kurdistan at this point, and I was anxious to examine it carefully and search for inscriptions, although I was not at the time aware of the report obtained by Major Rawlinson of their being such at this place. Unfortunately, however, the soldiers came out of the castle, insisting upon the examination of our papers and baggage, as this was the frontier-fort between Turkish and Persian Kurdistan. So, to avoid this annoyance, I was obliged to yield to the general wish to push on and leave the soldiers unsatisfied. Immediately beyond Sidaka we commenced the ascent of Sir-i-Burd, a huge mountain of a more or less conical form generally covered with wood, of which a large proportion were valonia oaks. The country we had now entered upon was, indeed, a continuation of the Amadiyeh district, and, like it, is the true country of valonia and gall-nuts.

As we advanced amid the dense forests of Sir-i-Burd

the scene presented little variety, but we passed round the head of one valley, in which there were villages and some cleared places for cultivation; where there was a spring, there was also generally one or two trees of more gigantic growth than the rest, and a more or less open patch of greensward, where caravans are accustomed to bivouac. It took us five hours to accomplish a distance of eighteen miles, which led us nearly round one-half of the mountain's circumference. We then began to descend towards the vale of Rowandiz by a difficult pathway, carried over a shelving declivity of schists, and on which we were obliged to walk. It constitutes the second of the difficulties of this road, which are three in number, viz.: the snows of the pass of Keli-Shin, the descent on slates at the foot of the Sir-i-Burd, and the vast limestone precipices west of Rowandiz.

The prospect that opened upon us during the descent was that of a bold and rather peculiar rocky scenery. A stony and not well-wooded vale lay beneath us, bounded to the west by a precipitous and bare ridge of limestone rocks. It was evident from the form of the valley that its waters did not flow along its centre, but close to the last-mentioned ridge. The town of Rowandiz was not visible, but it was easy to guess at its situation; and the deep cleft, through which the river of Rowandiz forced its way to join the waters of the Zab, rose gradually from a mere glen in the neigbourhood of the town to a giant staircase of rocks as they united with the westerly range; and through which the upper part of the now lofty ravine was visible at a vast distance, as a deep black enormous fissure.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Izedi Tomb.

Town of Rowandiz. Kurd Bey of Rowandiz. Road carried down a Precipice. Peculiar Hydrography. Comparison of the Great Zab and Tigris. Descend to the plains of Adiabene. Occurrences at Mosul. Visit to Eski Mosul (Old Mosul). Mosul Ashirat of Arabs. Numerous Wild Boars. Mr. Rassam, Vice-Consul at Mosul. Astronomical Observations.

I WAS prepared from the scanty description of Dr. Ross, the first and only European who had preceded us at Rowandiz, (pronounced by the natives Rawanduz,) to meet with much to interest me in the position and peculiarities of this remote and little known mountain town, but the reality exceeded my expectations. We were almost at its portals before it became visible; but as we approached, the distribution of the numerous ravines, with their perpendicular walls of limestone rock, the place whereabouts the town would be, became every moment

more distinct. At length, coming over a gentle hill, we saw a mount with one of the usual square castles with round towers upon its summit; but this was not yet Rowandiz. We travelled on, and tower after tower displayed itself in succession, till, upon a naked plain of limestone, higher up, a few gardens made their appearance, and at length the town itself burst upon our view: the houses, built in rows, one above the other, and descending in successive tiers, along a tongue of limestone, which has a deep ravine to the east, and another to the north, the latter containing the river of Rowandiz. We descended into the ravine and found a bridge thrown across the precipice where the river is only ten yards wide and about one yard deep, and rolling about twenty feet below.

As we rode through the steep and narrow streets, the crowd that pressed upon our passage to see the strangers, was so great, that it was with difficulty we could get along. It was in vain that I had looked in entering the town, among these naked rocks, for some tree, beneath which to seek for a night's repose; I had seen none, and was obliged to wend my way on this occasion with the remainder to the crowded and dirty khan of the city. We were no sooner there and installed in the balcony that surrounds the inner court of these Eastern hostelries, than the whole interior, court and all, was filled with spectators; among them I observed to my surprise a young Shammar Arab, exceedingly well dressed. "How did you come here?" I asked him; "How did you?" was his answer, smiling significantly. He then told me that he had crossed the mountains from Keuy Sanjiak. Now as I had been on a former occasion from Suleimaniyeh

to Keuy Sanjiak, I only wanted the itinerary from that place to Rowandiz, to fill up a good part of Kurdistan, and two minutes more saw me, pen in hand, inditing to the dictation of the polite young Shammar, to the infinite amazement of the crowd, who wondered how I had so soon found a friend. Mr. Rassam, however, had found a host of friends on his part, Romish Chaldeans from Mosul, who bring European manufactures into these remote parts in exchange for galls, skins, tobacco, &c.

The town of Rowandiz has been estimated at 2000 houses, but I could not count more than 1000. As I may, however, have left some out, let it be allowed altogether 1300; but most of them contain from two to three families, none so few as one, and many more. Indeed I never saw such a crowded population, nor so strange a scene. The roofs of the houses have no walls as in other Eastern towns, and the moment the sun set the dinner was taken, and the bed made upon the roof; for the pent-up valleys of Rowandiz and Amadiyeh are as oppressively hot as the plains of Mesopotamia. There were more than 500 persons to see us eat; and so great was the population that at night I observed there was not room enough on the roofs, and that hundreds of people, men, women, and children, lay in the streets. Many had entwined a few branches round their couches; some had erected little scaffoldings of wood and branches, on which slept the family, dogs, and fowls, but the scene was very strange to the eyes of a European. Altogether there was less refinement here than I had yet witnessed in the East.

The town is defended on the land-side by a wall with round towers; and the bey has several guns.

There were also several round towers outside the town: on the opposite side of the east ravine there are two; between the castle, to the north, and the ravine of the river, there are two more; and two in advance of the walls on the land-side. There is also a larger tower in the town on the higher part of the rock. The bey has as usual the best house, and a very pleasant summer-house, covered with branches of trees, where he spent the day while we were there.

The present bey is brother to the late chieftain, who rebelled against the Osmanli government, and whose fate is involved in Oriental mystery. The ambition of this man led him to plan conquests upon a large scale, and to threaten a large portion of the Osmanli dominions, in which enterprise had he been seconded by the Kurds as a nation, there is no doubt that he might have met with considerable success. As it was, he sacked and ravaged the fortress of Amadiyeh, and made an independent fort of it; and he even had the audacity to build a fort at the ferry upon the Great Zab, by which he broke off the communication between Baghdad and Mosul. He also built many minor forts at different derbends or entrances into the Kurdistan mountains, two of which I passed upon a former journey, not far from Keuy Sanjiak. At length Ali Pasha moved with a small body of troops and some field pieces against the rebel Kurd, to whom a further prestige was attached, from his lameness, which led among the extravagant Orientals, to his being identified after such limited prowess with Timur Bey. Ali Pasha, however, did not take his troops and guns beyond the hills of Herir on the outskirts of the mountains, and which, as far as the

real difficulties were concerned, was no nearer than Baghdad. A series of negotiations was commenced here, and the bey was ultimately allured from his fastnesses, and sent to Constantinople. A little previous to this, the bey was visited by Dr. Ross, from the Residency of Baghdad, and afterwards by Mr. Wood, now consul at Damascus. This latter gentleman, who was then dragoman to the British Embassy at Constantinople, interested himself much in the fate of the prisoner, and also got the Ambassador to exert himself for the mountain Kurd, (who had promised in return great regard and friendship for the English,) so far as, after his swearing allegiance to the Porte, to get him sent back to his country, with the new title of Mohammed Pasha. He was accordingly shipped off to Samsun, but disappeared at Amasiyeh, owing, as it was studiously reported, to illness, but from inquiries we made at Amasiyeh itself, shortly after the time, we learned that he was overtaken there by a messenger from Constantinople with the bowstring*.

Dr. Ross, and on his authority, Major Rawlinson, have written of the river of Rowandiz as if it were identical with the Great Zab, which is not the case, as the river of Rowandiz comes from the west slope of the Kandilan mountains; and up its fine and open valley is the road to So-uj Bolak: near Rowandiz it enters into a ravine of limestone, and receives at the town a stream

* A few years ago Abbas Mirza also sent an army against the Kurds of Rowandiz, then governed by Mustafah Bey, but the Persians were driven back and obliged to retreat, with the loss of their artillery.

from the south, and the ravine keeps increasing in depth with its further progress to the west. Not far below the Rowandiz is a gap in these cliffs, through which flow the winter-torrents from a high mountain, towering over these ravines, and called Sir Hasan Beg. Further on, and about one mile below Rowandiz, the river of that town is joined by a much larger stream, formed by the union of the three great streams with many minor ones which flow from the Sheikhiwa and the river of Sidaka.

July 3rd. We did not leave Rowandiz till mid-day. There was much commercial activity in the khan; they were loading two caravans at the moment with madder-root, tobacco, and buffalo-skins. The merchants of Mosul bring there English and French goods to exchange for galls. I saw the skins of two Kurd foxes, evidently a peculiar species, very small, with no brush to the tail; the fur fine and short, of an ash-grey colour, except the mesial line of the back, which was brown; the ears were short. Passing the gardens of the town, we made a descent into a deep valley with a gap through the lime ridge into the bed of the Rowandiz river; we then ascended one hour and a half to the crest of the shoulder of Sir Hasan Beg. We descended from hence one of the most remarkable precipices that I have ever seen a road carried down. It was not so lofty as many in the Tiyari, but it was nearly vertical, and upwards of 800 feet in perpendicular depth, and yet the road was hewn in the face of this precipice, along which it winded round and round with so gradual a descent that it might be effected in safety on horse-back. We went fast, for we were thirsty, and the windings must have been six or seven miles in length.

Having gained the bottom, the road does not follow the valley or ravine of the river of Rowandiz, but that of Pir Hasan, which flows into it. This river presented the remarkable peculiarity of having its origin outside the inner range of mountains to the west, and of then forcing its way into, instead of out of them, winding along deep ravines and secluded rocky dells, till it fell into the river of Rowandiz, to flow out of the same mountains back again to the west; and very little beyond this junction the united streams of Sidaka, Rowandiz, and the last-mentioned stream, flow into the Great Zab. The union occurs amid stupendous precipices of limestone, which rise perpendicularly upwards of 1000 feet above the pigmy torrents, though these must have been the main instruments of this singular configuration and distribution of rock and water.

The rivers abounded in fish; and our road up the glen of the Pir Hasan river had many charms. In the first place the steep precipices shaded us from the hot beams of the sun; there was plenty of water, and the wooded cliffs presented great variety of scene: in some parts vast slips had taken place, and huge masses of rock for a time hid the river from sight; then we came upon a little open space with a base of sand or gravel, while at other times the road was carried with difficulty under overhanging cliffs. At length we arrived at an open plain, where the limestone rocks at the outskirts of the range were nearly vertical, while within they became almost immediately horizontal, an arrangement not so readily accounted for by the hypothesis of upheaving forces, as by that of subsidence. Near the exit of the mountains I visited a curious cave, but of no remarkable depth,

and a little beyond we came upon a wooded vale, in part cultivated, where we took up our quarters in a most pleasant situation by the river side; and in which I enjoyed a luxurious bath.

As we continued our journey the next day, however, we found that we were more rapidly entering upon an uninteresting country, the sun-burnt plains and undulating district which extend between the outlying low ranges of hills of the Kurdistan mountains. First on our road were the hills of Koniatman, clad with oaks, among which appeared a modern square castle called Kalah Kin by my informants, and Kalah Julamerik by the muleteers, who were from Rowandiz. These hills led us to the plain of Herir, beyond which is the rocky range of limestone called Gharah Surgh. Passing by Anoma, a large village, we came to the banks of the Zab, where is a ferry and two villages, the one on the left bank being called Kasroki, that on the right, Kendil. The ferry, however, had been removed lower down, and when we reached it, as there was only a very small raft supported by eight skins, it took us three journeys of one hour each to carry over everything; and what rendered this delay in the middle of the day more irksome was, that there was no tree nor overhanging rock to shelter us from the sun, and I think I never felt its direct rays more powerful.

Difference of opinion has existed among geographers as to the comparative size of the Great Zab and of the Tigris at Mosul; and this is not surprising, since they are so nearly equal in magnitude that sometimes the one has the superiority, sometimes the other. I have collected a variety of data upon the subject, and the result

is that at Nimrud, at the ferry to Arbil, and at Herir, the Zab varies from 150 to 200 yards in width, while the Tigris, seldom less than 200 yards, expands occasionally to 300 and even 400 yards, as at Yarumjah. In fact, the Tigris varies very much, so that at the time of flood it presents the appearance given to it in the map, which represents it as formed at Mosul of many branches. At these seasons it attains in some places a width, as we have before seen, just above Mosul, of about an English mile, and is a truly splendid sheet of water. But the Zab is always much deeper; and it is probably on this account that it is so celebrated for the quantity and size of its fish. It contained, when we saw it, a larger body of water than the Tigris, whose tributaries are not supplied by so many snow-mountains as those of the Zab. Indeed the main branch, or that of Arghana Maden, comes from mountains (Azarah) where there is no snow at this season of the year. The temperature of the waters of the Zab is also several degrees lower than that of the waters of the Tigris throughout summer, and they are consequently delicious to drink. As the seasons of the floods of the Tigris are in April and May, and those of the Zab in June and early in July, the superiority passes in succession from the one to the other. When at their lowest, probably, the Tigris has a slight pre-eminence.

A little beyond the ferry we entered upon a country of sands and sandstones, with the usual rivulets clad with gaudy oleanders. There are many villages on the banks of the Zab, and we stopped at one of these, called Isa, by the side of a clear spring, and as Mr. Rassam and Davud were now approaching Mosul they began to

feel themselves at home, and we enjoyed the evening in calm repose, undisturbed by the long histories of robberies and murders that had been dealt out in so wholesale a manner on the other side of the mountains. We suffered much, however, at night from hot blasts, which came from the plains of Mesopotamia, and kept the thermometer at 110° during the night. It was impossible to sleep under such circumstances; but the result was beneficial, and next day the atmosphere was generally cooled and more agreeable.

July 5th. The main part of the morning's journey was directed up the valley of the Akra river, which is a tributary to the Zab, and not to the Khazir, as marked in Dr. Ross's map. About eight miles from the Zab there are two streams; one of which finds its way by a ravine through the limestone range that flanks the low country, and is here called Sir-i-Sadah; the other comes from Akra*, which was only distant about one hour's ride. This valley and the plain of Nav-Kur (the Plain of Mud), produce the greater part of the rice consumed at Mosul, as well as many common and water-melons. The best and largest water-melons are, however, said to be produced on the banks of the Khazir.

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* Akra is described by Dr. Grant as a romantic little town, embosomed in gardens and fruit orchards. Bold and bare rocks rise abruptly from the foot of the town, which is also overlooked by a castle lately ruined by the Turks. The population is about 2000, and of these, thirty houses belong to Romish Chaldeans and Syrians. The Doctor visited here one of the Abbasside Kurd princes, who received him graciously, rising from his seat, and giving him a seat by his side. Akra was also visited by Colonel Sheil.

We left the valley by a hill called Sir Deriyeh, of no great height, but commanding a most extensive prospect, and from whence I got bearings of all the various outlets of waters from the mountains, with also the inlet of Pir Hasan, the only case of the kind that I know in the Kurdistan hills. Below this hill we entered upon the extensive plain of Nav-Kur, studded with villages, but only very partially cultivated;. yet more so than in its northern portion, where we had crossed it on our departure. The river Khazir flows through its centre, but afterwards approaches closely to the foot of Jebel Maklub, which it washes at its south-eastern base. We travelled on till dark, and then took up our quarters in the village of Chorek.

July 6th. The Jebel Maklub is prolonged to the south-east by low hills of sandstone, on the side of which is the large village of Zenganah. The Khazir forces its way through these hills at the foot of Maklub, but is again turned off by the hill, indifferently named Ain al Safra (the Yellow Spring), or Ain al Beidha (the White Spring), from two springs on it, so called, which irrigate the lands of the village of Bertulli and others. The Ain al Safra and Maklub appear from Mosul as two distinct hills, but they are united by a low range of sandstone and limestone, amid which is the village and khan of Duberdah. We took breakfast at this place, and trotted from thence to Mosul in four hours, the distance being about eighteen miles.

July 6th. On our return to Mosul, I found the long expected box of instruments arrived from England, but as it had unluckily been forwarded from the coast of Syria on the back of camels, every single object in it

was broken into fragments. On the 9th of July, Riza Mirza, the eldest of the three Persian princes who had visited England a few years back, arrived at Mosul and spent a few days with us. In the latter end of the month a certain Comte de Sivrac arrived upon a mission to the Romish Chaldeans, and was entertained in the old Jesuits' house in the town. Captain Lynch came from Baghdad on August 2nd, accompanied by M. de Sercy, the French ambassador to Persia, and a numerous suite, and they reposed themselves a few days at Mosul.

August 10th. As it was becoming a little cooler, I made an excursion to Eski Mosul, proceeding the first evening to Atmeidat, a small village on the banks of the Tigris, three hours north of Mosul. The next day we passed by Badus, through a range of low limestone hills, where Rennell's map indicates ruins, but I could only find the remains of a village, and a pile of stones upon an eminence like a cairn. From the hills we descended to the water-side where were several villages, beyond which were the ruins of a castle situated on a hill called Tell Ajus.

Keeping along the banks of the river, we came to the spot where, from having a south-easterly course, it took a sudden bend to the south, and upon the promontory thus formed, we perceived plainly the ruins of old Mosul. The town had been situated, like the modern town of the same name, upon an isolated mound or terrace of gypsum, but differently with regard to the river. The ruins were not so extensive as to impress me with the idea of the city ever having been larger than the present Mosul, or to have contained a population of

above 20,000 souls, but it had apparently some buildings of as high pretensions to architectural perfection as any at Mosul. The houses having been constructed of pieces of gypsum cemented by mud, were in a very ruinous condition; the foundations, cellars, or serdaubs, or parts of walls, were generally all that remained. The most remarkable edifices were the ruins of a serai, outside of the town, and in the same style as Harun el Rashid's palace at Rakkah; a large building upon an eminence at the north end of the town, now converted into houses; and an oblong building with a façade ornamented with circular columns of gypsum. To the north-west was a curious isolated arch of considerable dimensions, and there were other buildings on the plain.

There was nothing, however, that belonged to a period anterior to the Mohammedan era, and this was the chief point which I wished to determine by this excursion, especially with regard to the existence of two Singaras, admitted by Cellarius, who says, there is a Singara on the Tigris, as is clear from the descriptions of Ptolemy and the Peutingerian Tables; but this can be clearly proved to be an error of Ptolemy's, for after noticing Amida (Diyarbekr), Cepha Castrum (Hisn Kefah), Bezabde (Jezireh), all on the Tigris, and as if following the river, he then notices Sinjar, Betousa, or Betuna, then Labana, and then Birtha; leaving, in fact, the Tigris, and crossing Mesopotamia to the Euphrates, by Sinjar (Singara), Seruj, afterwards Betunæ and Batnæ; and thence to Birtha, now Birehjik, and which, from supposing it to be on the river Tigris, Kinneir wrongly identified with Tekrit.

A short time before we approached the ruins, we

were joined by two Arabs of the Mosul Ashirat, who were at present at variance with the Pasha of Mosul and encamped a little beyond the ruins. Mr. Rassam was not with me on this excursion, but the Bedwin, Haji Ali, and the Greek, were of the party, and the former shortly after the Arabs went away, told me from the conversation he had with them, that it was unsafe for us to proceed to the encampment of the Ashirat, and indeed that we should be very insecure at the ruins. This was very vexatious, but there was no help for it, and I knew that it could not be a misrepresentation, as it only involved us in the fatigue of returning the same evening by the way that we came.

I accordingly left the party with the horses, to give them a temporary rest and feed at the ruined serai, and walked on myself to examine and make admeasurement of the ruins. On my return I found the party in a state of considerable anxiety, as the very Arabs who had previously joined us had been seen to return from the encampment with an addition to their numbers. Under these circumstances, tired as the horses were with a long ride, it was necessary to remount, and retreat on the road back to Mosul.

As we rode along the river-side I observed a number of Euphratic turtles tearing to pieces a stag, which had been brought down by the river from the mountains. With a little exertion we gained, just by night-fall, the village of Sheikh Kara, inhabited by Fellah Arabs, and just as the women and children were driving away a wolf, with shouts and cries that the animal did not appear to regard much.

The next morning we started, before daylight, to

enjoy the cool of dawn. As we proceeded along we observed a great number of boars, with troops of young ones, coming down from the upland, where they had been feeding all night, and repairing to hide themselves during the day in the jungle. I secured one of these by stationing myself at the mouth of a ravine, where I had not been a few minutes before half a dozen pigs came grunting along within a few yards of me. Great was the dismay when I suddenly advanced upon the party, the different members of which galloped awkwardly away in various directions; selecting one, however, of portable dimensions, I shot him through the body, and he was carried with us to Mosul. There was a great quantity of game in these hawis, or jungles, especially francolins and partridges. Wild boars were uncommonly abundant in a dry ditch in the same hawi; I put up more than a dozen, and found one that had been killed by the jackalls. Where there were rocks, there were also great numbers of pigeons. We arrived the same evening at Mosul.

Shortly after my return from this expedition, while I was preparing for an extensive autumnal journey through Armenia to Mount Ararat, and back by the Lakes of Van and Urimiyeh, and the Buhtan district of Kurdistan, I received a letter from the Royal Geographical Society, announcing that it was not their intention to carry out the objects of the expedition any further, which left me no alternative but to return the best way I could; a circumstance I regretted the more as we had so lately arrived in the real field of our labours, the Sinjar, and a great part of Armenia and Kurdistan still remained almost unknown land; we had established

friendly alliances almost all around us, and we had also commenced the transcription, by native priests, of many Chaldean works.

My personal disappointment was, however, diminished by the intelligence that came nearly at the same time, of my friend and companion Mr. Rassam having been appointed, through the kind exertions of Lord Ponsonby, Her Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consul at Mosul. When Mr. Rassam joined the Euphrates expedition at Malta, Sir Frederic Ponsonby, then governor of that island, had promised him that in case Her Majesty's Government did nothing for him at the end of that expedition, he would provide something for him. That brave soldier and excellent man, however, died in the interval, and the circumstances having been made known to his amiable relative, Lord Ponsonby, Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary at Constantinople, by Colonel Chesney, he was good enough to secure for him this appointment, so much the more valuable as being a spot where from his family connections, Mr. Rassam's influence will be most beneficially exerted in promoting the commercial interests of this country, and at the same time in establishing intercommunion between our own and the very interesting Chaldean nation and church.

The interval between this and the 24th of August, when we started for the high uplands of Armenia, was employed in regulating the chronometer, which was effected by occultations of the stars and eclipses of the satellites of Jupiter, for Greenwich time, and by transits of a star over a fixed meridian and equal altitudes for rate. The heavenly phenomena were particularly favourable, and several good observations were obtained.

CHAPTER XLV.

Castles of Fenik (Phœnica).

Chaldean Village of Al Kosh. Ruins of Sulub. Plain of Mar Yacub. Cross the Cha Spi. Town of Zakhu. The Khabur, or River of Zakhu. Jebel Judi. Site of Mount Ararat. Various Traditions. Plain of Zakhu. Castle of Rabahi. Town of Jezireh. Modern Name. Population. Chaldean Episcopate of Mar Yuhannah. Pass of the Tigris. Ruins of Fenik—ancient Phœnica. Castles and Tombs.

The first evening, as is generally the case, was a mere start, and we bivouacked on the greensward in front of the large and well-known Roman Catholic Chaldean village of Tel Kaif. The next day our journey lay over the same plain, in the direction of the monastery of Rabban Ormusd, known by the descriptions of Mr. Rich, and the position of which is easily made out, by its being at the foot of the only precipice, or abrupt cliff, which presents itself on the south face of the long limestone range in which it is situated, and which is

named after it. This range of hills, of uniform outline and no great height, is separated from the Jebel Maklub by a low hilly country of red sandstones, which part the plain of the Chaldeans from that of Nav-Kur, previously described.

The history of the foundation of Rabban Ormusd, and the origin of its Persian name from a convert and martyr prince of that nation, is contained in Assemani. At present there are resident in it, a metropolitan, four priests, some monks and theological pupils, or assistants. At the foot of the mountain, and not far from the monastery, is the Chaldean village of Al Kosh, well known as the seat of the Roman Catholic Patriarchs of that nation, and supposed to be the birth-place of Nahum, who proclaimed the burden of Nineveh, and is called in the Bible the Al Koshite.

An hour's ride brought us to Batnaia, a Chaldean village of fifty houses, and a little more than another hour to Tel Escof, once a very flourishing Chaldean village, but now sadly fallen off. Sandstones succeed to limestones here, and the plain rises gradually to Hatara (the Halah of Dr. Grant), whose white-washed tombs, with conical and fluted spires, announced from the distance an Izedi population. Beyond this the country is hilly, the road being carried over the red sandstone rocks which crop out at the foot of the Rabban Ormusd hills; but there is a lower and better road, which we had passed on a former journey, but which was now dangerous, as the Mosul Ashirat of Arabs, whose head-quarters were still at Eski Mosul, had crossed the Tigris on a predatory expedition.

Amidst these hills is the reed-clad rivulet of

Bowusah, which we forded at a ruined khan, but which a few miles below irrigates the lands of two flourishing villages. In the evening we arrived, after a long ride, at the Izedi village of Hamari, with the usual conical tombs. This village is situated 500 yards from the north-west extremity of the Rabban Ormusd hills, which point bears from the Consulate at Mosul north 6° west.

August 25th. An hour's ride beyond Hamari is another Izedi village, called Sulub. It is situated near the junction of two rivulets, between which is a high artificial mound of remote antiquity, described in the Katabasis, as being at that time the seat of a palace. The ancient road and the modern one on the upper Tigris, follow pretty nearly throughout the same line, it being determined by the physical necessities of the soil. Sulub is, by meridian altitude of the sun, in north latitude 36° 52′ 5″.

Crossing from hence a plain enlivened by troops of gazelles, we approached the foot of the hills called by the Kurds, Cha Spi, and by the Arabs, Jebel Abyadh, both signifying the same thing (the White Hills). This range is the north-western prolongation of the Jebel Gharah, and it re-assumes that name on the west side of the Tigris, where it is prolonged in low hills on to the plain of Sinjar; it is separated from the Rabban Ormusd by another rocky spur, between which are open valleys, cultivated by industrious Chaldeans. The most accessible road from Mosul to Amadiyeh lies up the most southerly of these vales, and it was the one followed by Mohammed Pasha and his army, on the occasion when we avoided them by crossing the mountains at Sheikh Adi.

Two Chaldean villages, Mar Yacub and Sheish, occupied the acclivities of the hills before us. A little further on we came to Koasheh, a Kurd village, where we intended to quarter ourselves for the night, but some altercation having taken place, in which the villagers opposed us with open violence, we were obliged to load again and continue onwards to Malasena, where, however, we were only able to procure barley for the horses.

The aspect of the plain which lies between the Cha Spi and the Tigris is monotonous and uniform. There are but few villages and little cultivation; hence most is waste land, immense tracts of which had been burnt by late conflagrations. It is one of the frequently observable indications of a benevolent providence, that all the social plants of these plains, and consequently all its characteristic vegetation, are of use to man. Next to the grasses, the most common plant is the prickly Mimosa agrestis, which presents, in autumn, a gall that is eaten by the peasants and sold in the streets at Mosul; next in frequency is the Tragopogon, the root of which is a common and delicious esculent; large quantities of gum are gathered from different species of Astragalus; the Gramineæ feed herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, and troops of gazelles; and besides these, there are only the white or gilded blossoms of a few vagabond species belonging to the families of Umbelliferæ or Compositæ.

August 26th. Following the direction of the Cha Spi, three hours' ride brought us to where the modern road turns to the north, through the hills. At this point the chain is divided into two nearly parallel ranges,—a

southerly, the most lofty, and a northerly and lower range. There is a journey of upwards of two hours over a wooded and hilly district, between the two; where is also the village of Hasan Agha. But in the prolongation of the same hills towards Tigris, the two ranges unite, and constitute one.

As the stranger approaches Zakhu, he is struck with its bold and isolated appearance. It is not a town in a partially civilized country, like Mosul, but an outpost of warlike Kurdistan. Built on an island of rocky conglomerate, that rises out of the blue waters of the Khabur, a pile of ruin,—belonging to different ages, with abutments of solid square stones, modern Turkish walls and defences, and still more recent mud compartments, which disfigure its loftier parts,—towers so prominently over a crowd of tents below as to take the whole attention, and impress one with the idea of an ancient feudal castle.

We forded the Khabur, and bivouacked under the shade of the castle, and away from the crowd of curious. About a mile above the town is a bridge, on which is said to be the miraculous impression of a foot, and the island town is connected with the mainland by another, defended by a gate. On a former occasion, and at a different season of the year, the river was not fordable. It was so full of fish that in the evening while I was bathing in its waters, they were continually striking against my body.

The course of the Khabur has been long a geographical puzzle. Kinneir and Monteith make it the same as the river of Sert and Betlis, and Rennell the same as the river of Amadiyeh; and all the most modern autho-

rities are nearly as widely incorrect. Although the vale of Amadiyeh is the same as that of Zakhu, there is a line of watershed between them, as described in the visit to the Chaldeans. The Zakhu river is but a small stream until it is joined by the Hazer, the resulting stream being called the Perishabur Su. The exact sources of these two rivers are yet unknown; but there cannot be the slightest doubt that they flow from the mountainous country beyond the Jebel Judi and Zakhu Tagh, or from that part of the Berrawi district and of Buhtan* generally, which lies between the Hakkari district and the river Tigris; the Khabur coming from the east, the Hazir from the west†.

It would be scarcely proper to leave Zakhu, with the lofty peaks of the Jebel Judi, and the still loftier interior Buhtan, stretching far away to the north like a sea of mountains, without saying a word upon a question agitated among Oriental travellers, concerning the comparative authenticity of the traditions which have reference to the site of the mountain called Ararat in the Old Testament.

Facts illustrative of so remote an antiquity are naturally not numerous, and difficultly tangible. Mount

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* The Buhtan country is bounded to the south by the vale of Zakhu and the Badinan district; to the east by the Berrawi and Hakkari districts; to the north by the tribes of Mukush and Argerosh Tagh; to the west by the Tigris, and to the north-west by the Buhtan Chaye and Shirwan tribes.

† Since this was written I observe that Dr. Grant lays specific claim to having been the first who determined that the Khabur came from the Berrawi country, and was not the same as the rivers of Sert or Betlis.

Ararat has, however, been allowed by most of the ancient profane or inspired writers, to belong to Armenia; but so do the Gordyene mountains, of which the Jebel Judi constitute a part, and to which tradition assigns its Thenanin, or Mountain of the Ark, as well as the Armenian Massis,—the Mohammedan Aghri Tagh (the Painful Mount*.)

The authority alike of Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, and Hieronymus, is in favour of a mountain on the Araxes, which only proves that they probably derived their tradition from similar sources.

The only Chaldean historian adopts the tradition current among the Chaldeans and Syrians as well as the Arabs and other Mohammedans of the present day†, that Ararat is in the Gordyæan chain, and the memory of this was preserved till A.D. 776, by a Chaldean monastery, now supplanted by a Mohammedan mesjid, which is a monument consecrated by another worship to record the same event.

That such a temple cannot be supposed to have been erected upon the summit of a snowy mountain, as has been critically remarked by Bell, in his *System of Geography*, is partly true, and from all I could learn it exists on one of its acclivities. But Messrs. Sullivan and Buckingham are mistaken in supposing the Judi

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* Mr. Consul Brant remarks that at Bayazid there are no traditions respecting the Ark, and the natives know the mountain by no other name than Aghri Tagh.

† The Foreign Secretary of the Geographical Society substantiates what is stated by me, Mr. Rich, and Mr. Consul Brant, that Mohammedan writers say that the ark of Noah rested on Jebel Judi.

Tagh or Jebel Judi to be covered with snow during the whole year; at the present season there only remained a very few patches in crevices and ravines.

Cellarius points out a remarkable fact, that the Chaldean or Targum version of the Bible, called that of Onkelosius, reads Mount Kardu for Ararat, and another Targum or Tergum version, called that of Jonathanis, reads, by mis-spelling, Kadrum Mountains.

Elmacius, in his *History of the Saracens*, speaking of Heraclius, says, he ascended into the Gordyæan Mountains, and saw the place where the Ark rested.

It thus appears to be a question, in which profane antiquity and the Armenian tradition is ranged against Chaldean, Syrian, and (*quære*) Hebrew tradition, with which the Mohammedan has sided.

August 27th. On arriving this morning at the Chaldean village of Tel Kobbin, although after an absence of three years, we were immediately recognised by the peasants, who overwhelmed us with hospitality. There was not a family in the village which did not contribute something. To meet, as far as lay in our power, their kindness, we sat down outside of the village, where they all took their places, men, women, and children, the priest at the head, full of decent but affectionate joy; and we passed the heat of the day with these friendly people. Tel Kobbin is, by sun's meridian altitude, in north latitude 37° 14′ 10″.

Starting hence, we left the great road which goes by Nahrwan, and approximated to the Perishabur river, and passing the large Chaldean village of Girki Pedros, we bivouacked near that of Takiyan, where we were well received.

The plain of Zakhu, shut up on the one side by the Cha Spi and by the Jebel Judi on the other, and extending from Zakhu to the Tigris, is chiefly peopled by Roman Catholic Chaldeans, who have seven villages, viz.: Takiyan, Perishabur or Peshabur, Nahrwan, Tel Kobbin, Girki Pedros, Wasit, and Bedar. Perishabur is an ancient site, and there is a ferry there over the river of the same name and over the Tigris. In addition to these is the Mohammedan village of Marsowah, at the foot of the Cha Spi, the Kurd Sayid Bey's castle, near the foot of Jebel Judi, which was overthrown in the campaign of Reshid Pasha (1836-37), and Zakhu, the seat of Osmanli government, with a mixed population of a number of Osmanli officials, Kurd peasants, and Chaldean and Jew dealers and tradesmen.

August 28th. This day we travelled up the course of the Tigris, and I observed a fact additional to the sections given of this country in my *Researches*, that a small patch of volcanic rocks crosses the river from the uplands on the left bank to form a headland on the right.

The castle of Rabahi, situated on a high artificial mound, appears to have been the third station on the road in the time of the Katabasis, viz.: (1.) Sulub, (2.) Perishabur, (3.) Rabahi. Neither inscription nor tradition relates its history to the traveller in the present day. Five hours' ride from Takiyan brought us opposite to Jezireh, where we halted some time in order to procure barley for the horses, but this place is celebrated by travellers for its inhospitality, and we could obtain none. Buckingham was imprisoned here, and many have in modern times been subject to various annoyances, which would be remedied were the Osmanli

government to put it under the vigorous Pasha of Mosul and not under Diyarbekr, with which it is connected by a most devious route, whilst its sympathies are all pre-eminently Kurd.

Jezireh was in ancient times, according to Chaldean tradition, a city of that nation, and called Zabelita, or, according to St. Martin, Zozarta or Bazebda in Zabicene. The Chaldeans of the present day abbreviate and corrupt its name to Xurta. It appears to have been the city in Gordyene, of which Zarbienus or Zabienus is described in the time of Lucullus as king. Under the Romans it became a municipal town, with the name of Bezabde. The Romans were expelled from it by the Persians, from whom it was re-conquered by Diocletian, and afterwards by Galerianus. It was again lost to the Romans at the death of Julian. It fell into the power of the Osmanlis with the downfall of Diyarbekr and Mosul, but was generally governed by vassal Kurd princes, and it was last sacked for rebellion by Reshid Pasha in 1836.

The modern name of this small town is derived from a ditch or canal, which was dug by a prince of Buhtan, between the Tigris on the east and a small stream which waters the town to the west, having its sources in the volcanic hills of Baarem, and emptying itself into the Tigris immediately below the town. This rivulet is fordable for nine months in the year, but for the other three has to be passed by a dilapidated and dangerous bridge. Colonel Sheil thought he saw a river leaving the Tigris, to form the island, two miles from Jezireh, yet he afterwards describes himself as descending about 300 feet the low hills which form the

banks of the river, and he then notices after this descent, crossing the small arm of the Tigris which forms the island on which the town is built.

Although many travellers now pass through Jezireh, information regarding its actual condition appears to be much wanting. Balbi, in his last edition, gives to it a population of 20,000 souls, and describes Amadiyeh and Julamerik as small places compared to it. The reverse is the case. The population, when I visited it three years ago, and again at the present moment, could not be averaged at 1000 souls.

It is still the seat of a Roman Catholic Chaldean bishop as it was in the days of Assemani, but there are no Roman Catholic Chaldeans resident in the place, either bishop, clergy, or laity, although there are a few Chaldeans.

In the dearth of every thing at Jezireh, we proceeded the same evening to Mansuriyeh, a flourishing village of Chaldeans, situated at the entrance of the pass of Tigris, and three miles north of Jezireh.

We were hospitably received by the villagers, who were well dressed and comfortably off. It was here that three years before, on attempting this pass, we had found the same village in possession of the Kurds, who obliged us to turn back and take the road from Jezireh by Nisibin to Diyarbekr.

Mansuriyeh is separated from the mountains, which hem in the Tigris at this point, by a wooded and fertile valley, about half a mile in width, and watered by a tributary coming from the Buhtan district. This valley is entirely inhabited by Chaldeans, who have several villages united, as usual, under a temporal and

spiritual authority, in the person of the bishop of Mar Yuhannah. The names of the villages in this district are Mar Yuhannah, Mar Akchah, Zananep, Jerret, Birka, Berret, Deik Sheik, and Mansuriyeh; this latter constitutes, as it were, the outpost of the Chaldeans in this direction. Unfortunately the bishop of Mar Yuhannah had gone on a visit to Mar Shimon, or we would have penetrated the valley, to pay him a visit.

August 29th. Crossing the river of Mar Yuhannah we entered upon the Pass of the Tigris, visible from far away in Mesopotamia, and celebrated for the opposition which the Greeks under Xenophon met with at this naturally formidable barrier.

The spur of the Jebel Judi, which here advances upon the river, does not descend in absolute precipices, but, after a steep wall of rock, composed of limestone beds, in nearly horizontal strata, slopes away in a steep acclivity of detritus, with occasional masses of rock or fallen cliff jutting out into the river, or piled together in promontories; so that it is only during the summer season, that this road is practicable.

After tracking this difficult path for some time, the horses at times in the water, at others treading along a shelving and slippery surface, the widening of the ravine, and a modern mill with its garden, first announced an improvement in the country. The road became now a beaten track and distinguishable from fallen stones and earth. At the same time the line of cliffs began to recede from the river, till suddenly, from having a nearly horrizontal stratification, additional beds appear as it were in front of the cliffs, dipping nearly vertically to the west, and rising in rude irregular conical summits in

front of what had been hitherto one continuous wall of rock. On the west side of the pass and on the right bank of the river, the structure and the character of the country was different. Basaltic rocks, sometimes with low cliffs presenting a rude prismatic structure, extended along the bank, or rose in green and grass-clad valleys to the dark stony cliffs of the hilly country beyond.

As we proceeded onward, our surprise and pleasure may be imagined, at finding extending before us, a considerable expanse of well-wooded gardens, which stretched from the hills down to the waterside, and for about two miles up the river's course. Nothing could exceed the rich luxuriance of these groves and orchards; there were open spaces here and there for maize, melon, gourd, and cucumber, but otherwise the groves of plum, apricot, and peach, appeared almost inaccessible from the dense lower growth of fig trees and pomegranates, themselves again half hid beneath clustering vines. Overlooking this scene of vegetative splendour, and upon the side of the hill, were the ruins of a castellated building, the battlemented walls and irregularly dispersed square towers of which still remain. This building covered a considerable space, being 600 yards in depth by 1100 in length. Traces of outworks and of buildings connected with it were also quite evident, stretching downwards to the gardens.

On two mounds not far distant from each other, and close to the river, are the ruins of two other smaller castles of similar characters to the larger one, only with double battlements, and consequently rising more loftily from the deep green groves, in the midst of which they

are situated. It would appear, from the great quantity of ruins in every direction, that this spot overgrown with fruit trees was once the site of a town, but probably built in the style common in the East, every house having its garden. This place is in the present day called Fenik, and corresponds to the ancient Phœnica*.

The gardens are watered by a rivulet, which flows from a narrow and rocky glen, the entrance to which is difficult, the path lying along the course of the waters, which occasionally flow over a naked bed of rock, or tumble into successive basins of marble, and rendered more slippery by aquatic confervæ; at other places the waters are lost beneath a rich overgrowth of fig trees and spiny acacia, or are carried off by subterranean channels, belonging to the many aqueducts which appear to have been hewn throughout the length of the glen.

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* Ammianus Marcellinus notices in this neighbourhood Bezabde (Jezireh) and Phœnica. Mr. Rich, who was the first to notice the existence of the Castle of Fenik, from information collected from the natives, identifies this castle with the Phœnica of Julian's historian, and Fenik indeed appears to be a corruption of Phœnica, or Phineck, as Assemanni writes it.

Phineck is mentioned in the Tarikh Al Akrad, as destroyed by Khalapi, prince of Sert, on his way to lay siege to Jezireh; and in 1459, Amir Ahmed, the Buhtan, who occupied the Carduchian mountains, according to Assemanni, took Jezireh from Amir Ibrahim, who took refuge in the castle of Phineck.

Rich calls it a very ancient and celebrated castle, and adds, it is renowned in the history of the Kurds as early as 1461, in which year a battle was fought between the chiefs of Hesn Kief and Buhtan. In the same year Ahmed of Buhtan, the tyrant of Jezireh, took Fenik and ordered Ibrahim, with his sons, to be burnt.

In the midst of this picturesque scenery a cottage now and then peeped into view from a dense foliage which secreted it like a nest, while an occasional mill announced itself by its noise. On the cliffs above were numerous sepulchral grots, some simple, others double, mostly divided into compartments, but without inscriptions or designs.

Higher up the glen, was a small village called Geli (Ravine or Pass) Sherafi, many of the houses of which were hewn out of rock, and some of them out of fallen masses, which often stood erect at the foot of the cliffs like great obelisks with a door-way in front. Beyond this village the pass narrowed, and was fenced in by perpendicular walls of rock, and we did not explore it any farther, but returning to the gardens by a break-neck road, we rounded the front of another inclined face of rock, and about half a mile from the first ravine entered into another, which contained the modern village of Fenik.

This place presented to our view about a hundred houses built on the two sides of the ravine, and many of them excavated. Having been long tenanted by independent Kurds, they had preferred the imaginary safety of the fastness, with all its discomforts, to the beautiful gardens that lay at their feet. The village was defended by several modern Kurdish forts, two of which were on the opposed hill-tops, while other small ones succeeded to one another along the crest and acclivities down to the village. This pass of the Tigris was rendered by these Kurds quite impracticable to strangers, or even to Osmanlis, till the time of Reshid Pasha, who brought them under subjection.

We did not stop at the village, but after visiting its chief rode across the gardens about half a mile to the northerly of the two forts on the bank of the river, already described, where we found the servants and baggage-horses reposing, and which is, by meridian altitude of the sun, in north latitude 37° 27′ 35″.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Castle of Konakti. Finduk. Syrian Villages. Castle and Ferry of Chelek. Armenian Site of Thil. Chaldeans on the Centrites. River of Buhtan. District of Gharzen, Arzanene. Town of Sert. Ali Tagh—Niphates. Ancient Karduchia and Gordyene. Site of Tigranocerta—Diyarbekr.

We started from the remarkable Pass of the Tigris, still keeping along the river banks; the stream flowing from north-west, while the direction of the chain of hills to the east being as usual north-westerly, the interval between the two continued to increase till the road took a middle course between them. This intervening space was at first occupied by rice-grounds, but we soon began to ascend towards new hills, which we found to be defended by castellated buildings. We did not, however, reach these this night, but brought up in an olive grove near the summer village of Zawiyah. The castle of Konakti bore north-west, that of Fenik south-west; while on the opposite side of the river, and about three miles distant, was the large village of Mauvi. Beyond this the Tigris is hemmed in by perpendicular walls of rock, having, like the Euphrates at Rum Kalah, cut itself a channel through a high upland of indurated limestones.

August 30*th*. Leaving Zawiyah, we descended into a deep and narrow ravine, having a rapid stream at the bottom, which abounded in trout. Although the ravine was scarcely 300 feet wide, the industrious peasants had

found room in so sheltered and favourable a spot for gardens of gourds and melons, and for vineyards and orchards. There were also many antique sepulchral grots in the cliffs above.

On regaining the upland, we passed the castle of Konakti, which we found to be a mere square, like some of the Irish castles, built of cut stones, cemented by mortar. Near it were the ruins of two other similar castles. The style and epoch of construction is distinct from that of the ruins at Fenik. There is every reason, however, to believe that they defended in more modern times the same approach to the mountains which was the seat of another of the numerous fatiguing combats sustained in these countries by the adventurous and undaunted Greeks.

Beyond this we entered into a narrow glen, where we obtained some fossils characteristic of the limestones of these countries, which belong to the supra-cretaceous epoch. Among others was an ostracite, with serpuli upon the outside of the shell, looking as if just picked up from the sea-shore. The road winded much, and in one part was carried along the face of a precipice several hundred feet in depth, and over which one of the horses nearly mistook its way. The course of the Tigris could be traced below, by the dark line of its hidden path, during the whole of the journey. We now turned round a hill, and then descending gently reached the large Kurdish village of Finduk. This was in every respect a highland village; the men were tall and strong, rude and fierce; the women handsome, and their complexions fair and healthy. Finduk was, by a meridian altitude of the sun, in north latitude 37° 31′ 40″,

and at an elevation, by boiling-point thermometer, of 1520 feet.

We descended from Finduk towards the Tigris by Kuwarro, a small village, to Baravan, another collection of cottages of Syrian peasants. The river was a short distance below us; it issued to the north from a wooded and picturesque ravine, washed the eastern foot of the mountain of Vihan, which rose by admeasurement 1760 feet above the river, and then entered its deep channel in the limestone upland. There were numerous villages, chiefly of Syrians, in the valley, and each had its garden and orchard, so that the appearance of the whole was cheerful, while the alpine and river scenery was truly magnificent.

Having reached the village before the luggage, we had extended our carpets under the shade of some fine valonia oaks, which grew over the tombs of the Syrians, but when the remainder of the party came up, there was a general objection made to such a site for a night's bivouac, so we were divided into two parties, one within the funereal grove, and the more superstitious without.

August 31*st*. We passed the other Syrian villages, with their clustering gardens overhanging the smiling river below, its blue waters darkened by the shadows of the colossal Vihan. The rocks had now changed to saliferous red sandstones, which were beneath the ostracite limestone, and contained carboniferous beds on the hills between Finduk and the Tigris, where they are associated with rocks of the felspatho-pyroxenic series. All the rivulets that flowed from this sandstone were loaded with common salt, which also effloresced on their banks.

Following the bed of the river for about an hour, we came to a narrow ravine, at the entrance to which, on the left bank, was a rivulet and mill, and a castellated building on the rocks above, while on the right bank was a village perched on a height, which it was difficult for us to conjecture how it was reached. The present road was another summer one, not passable for three-fourths of the year; hence Colonel Sheil and other travellers crossed the Tigris at the ferry of Chelek, and reached Jezireh by the devious road to the west of the river.

We got through the glen in about an hour, and entered upon a plain, a few miles up which we perceived the irregular and lofty towers of the castle of the Kurd Bey of Chelek. We stopped opposite to this village, and on the left bank, and sent over for provisions; but unluckily the bey mistook our not coming over ourselves as an insult, and refused any assistance. After some delay, we succeeded in getting barley for the horses and food for the party from the villagers. The heat of the sun was very great here, and we had no shade. There was a cave, which also served as a khan, but it was so full of vermin that the blaze of a mid-day sun was preferable. Chelek is celebrated for its scorpions, which are so numerous that to avoid them the singular practice obtains of sleeping in summer on a dry part of the bed of the river; the beds are left in their stations all day, and I had thought Rowandiz an extraordinary scene, but the nocturnal sociability of the good peasants of Chelek exceeds even the varied groupings of that place. The khan-cave is, by a meridian altitude of the sun, in latitude 37° 41′ 5″.

The road from Chelek led us along the banks of the

river, by another most beautiful pass, winding through lofty cliffs of limestone, and a little more than an hour brought us to a deserted khan, by the side of a rivulet and bridge. The road here left the Tigris, and I let the party go on, while I stopped a few minutes to contemplate the enchanting scenery of a river I was about to quit perhaps for ever. A remarkable quiet pervaded everything around. The deep flood of the Tigris moved calmly onward without a murmur, the trees were undisturbed even by the slightest breeze, and not a living thing was perceptible, save a solitary vulture, whose foot-fall seemed to strike the ear as it left its aërial circles to light upon the gothic pinnacles of rock that crowned the cliffs before me. It would have been impossible not to have wished to rest for ever in so beautiful and so secluded a spot.

We gained from hence a cultivated upland, leaving to the right the district of Kiyou, with the Chaldean villages of Milan, Batan, and others. One hour's ride brought us to Wahted, a Kurd village, about 200 yards from the point where the river of Buhtan joins the Tigris, while on the opposite side is the celebrated village of Thil, with a large artificial mound. The Foreign Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society has mistaken Colonel Sheil's etymology of Til for tel, the Chaldean and Arabic for a mound or hill, but the name of this place is Thil or Til, and it is not unknown to Armenian history. Father Michael Chamicii, whose *History of Armenia* was translated by Avdall, and published in Calcutta in 1811, relates that Aristahes or Pustahes, the youngest son of, and pontiff after St. Gregory, having been murdered by an Armenian chief,

when on a journey to Zophs (Sophene of the Romans, now Kharput), his body was buried in the village of Thil. Vertannes, the third Armenian Pontiff, retired to the same place (Thil), on the death of Tiridates, and was accompanied in his retirement by the wife of Tiridates, and his sister Khosrovedught (the daughter of Chosroes). But it has a more antique history than this, for it is recorded that a statue of Minerva, which had been brought from Greece by Artaces, was placed in this village by Tigranes. The existence of Chaldean villages in this neighbourhood is a circumstance also of some interest, for as far back as the days of Xenophon we find Chaldeans noticed as among the native troops who opposed the Greeks at the Centrites, of the identity of which river with the Buhtan Chaye there can be no doubt.

September 1*st*. We travelled up the banks of the river Buhtan, which averages a width of three hundred feet by four to five in depth. Our road lay over an hawi or alluvial plain, the soil of which must have been uncommonly fertile, for the grasses and liquorice plants grew nearly as high as a man on horseback. Leaving Kurbayah, a small village, with a fort, to the right, we came to where the river issued from a pass, the village of Jaminiyah, with hill of same name, with a ruined fort on its summit, being on the right bank, and a limestone precipice, with a village beneath, on the left. There are here carbonaceous measures, but I observed no true coal. Passing another hawi, and the villages of Sheikho and Moti, we saw the ancient site and castle of Redwan, about a mile to the west. There had been a great road leading to this place formerly, for there still existed

three pointed arches, the remains of a bridge over the river at this place. A little beyond this we came to a ford, where a Kurdish Bey wanted to force tribute from us, but this was successfully resisted. There were some pretty-looking villages, with their defensive towers, around us. Proceeding hence up the right bank of the river, we came to another narrow pass of limestones on red-sandstones, which, at a distance of two miles and a half, somewhat opened, and was enlivened by gardens; and after a journey of three hours from the ford we ultimately left the river of Buhtan by a steep ascent up the hills to the west. This ascending and difficult road was in great part an artificial causeway, up which we had to toil nearly two hours, altogether, before we gained the upland, another hour's journey over which brought us to the town of Sert.

September 2nd. Sert or Serd is a small town, situated on an undulating upland, 2750 feet above the level of the sea, and between the rivers of Buhtan to the east and that of Betlis to the west, which latter is visible from the town in a north-east direction, while the Buhtan Chaye is not. It appears to have been Kinneir who first promulgated the idea of the river of Buhtan being the same as the Khabur or Zakhu river; Colonel Sheil, who does not appear to have corrected this error, yet made a great step by distinguishing it from the Betlis river, under its proper name of Buhtan Chaye.

Our inquiries at Sert concerning Erzen or Arzen, the Oppidum Arzaniorum in Arzanene of the Byzantime historians, were at first unsuccessful; at length, Mr. Rassam bethought himself of using the guttural gh, when the place was immediately recognised as Gharzen,

about nine miles north-west of Sert, upon the Betlis Chaye, the valley of which was visible from our roof. This stream corresponds, then, to the river of Erzen of the ancients, but we could hear nothing here nor at Mush of the lake Thospitis in Arethusa. Pliny is wrong in identifying the Erzen river with the Nymphius, which is that tributary of the Tigris which flows by the city Nymphaion, the Martyropolis of Ammianus, Procopius, &c., and which are both in the present day represented by the town and river of Meiaferikin.

It was originally my intention to have proceeded from Sert to Mush directly by the mountains, and to have explored the long-debated question of the lakes and subterranean feeders of the Tigris, but I could get no one to go with me, nor to supply horses for such an easy expedition. Mr. Brant, however, who was happy enough to visit part of this country immediately after the subjugation of the Kurds by Hafiz Pasha, gives an excellent account of the modern history of a territory not previously described since the days of the Romans. He found among other things, the westerly branches of the Gharzen Su to be composed of the Ilijeh or Ghazero Su, the Sarum Su, the Yak Su, and the Kolb Su, all of which unite in the Gharzen district—the ancient Arzanene—and are then, according to the information we received, joined by the Betlis river*.

* Notwithstanding this now established situation of the Gharzen district, corresponding in part with the ancient Arzanene, I am still inclined to identify the Oppidum Arzaniorum with the modern town of Ghazero, visited by Lord Pollington, who does not notice its river, but which Mr. Arrowsmith, with every probability, deduces to

There are some gardens near Sert, but they occupy chiefly the summits and acclivities of a few eminences to the east, and their foliage is neither dense nor close enough to give relief to the open unsheltered aspect of the town. The houses have a cleanly look, being for the most part built of stone; the Serai, or governor's residence, as usual, stands prominent over the other buildings. Kinnier, in 1812, reckoned the population at 3000 persons; Colonel Sheil estimated 1000 houses to 5000 souls. The last corresponds to a rough enumeration made from the roof of our house. The population consists of Kurds and other Mohammedans, Roman Catholic Chaldeans, and Armenians.

The Christian part of the community are chiefly engaged in dyeing calico red, the material for which is brought from Betlis. The Christian population is dense; we found sometimes as many as four families in a house.

Sert is situated, by moon's meridian altitude, and by chronometer, from time at place, rectified by equal altitudes, in east longitude 41° 34′ 7″, and by sun and moon's meridian altitude, in latitude 38° 2′ 40″.

The westerly prolongation of the great range of Taurus, known to the Mohammedans by the name of Ali Tagh, which constitutes the great barrier of this part of Armenia, and is often incorrectly marked as the Nimrud Tagh in the maps, rises boldly beyond and above the upland of Sert, and of the Gharzen and

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be the Ilijeh Su, the westerly tributary of the Gharzen river, Ghazero is, according to Mr. Consul Brant, the seat of the richest of the three independent Beys, or princes of Tiriki, viz., Ghazero, Iliyeh, and Khini.

Buhtan rivers, and constitues in altitude and in alpine appearance, a transition from the loftier snow-clad peaks of the Mar Hannan and Jellu Tagh in central Kurdistan, and the more tame and gentle outline of the Maden and Azarah Tagh, which constitute Taurus in Sophene and the Bey Tagh and Ak Tagh, the Taurus of Lesser Armenia.

Two summits are more particularly distinguished in this range by their superior altitude. The highest of these is called Mut Khan, from the Kurd tribe of that name who live in its neighbourhood. It had a perpetual glacier on its slope, and bore from Sert north 35° west. The other is called Sir Sirah, a giant limestone precipice on primary schists, not very far from Betlis, and bearing from Sert north 11° east.

It is a question of comparative geography, well worth determining, now that better materials are afforded, whether the ancients considered these mountains as belonging to Armenia, or as constituting part of Kurdistan. Xenophon places Karduchia on the confines of Armenia and Assyria; Strabo describes the Niphates, celebrated in poetry, as much to the east of the Masius (Jebel Tur), having the Abus (Gujik Tagh) to the north, and Ptolemy looked upon the same chain as part of the Taurus, as Strabo does also the Gordyæan mountains. In the same manner, the Choatras of Ptolemy is described by Cellarius, as running from the Niphates and mountains of the Karduchii to the Zagros which divided Media from Assyria. This corresponds very nearly to the system adopted by Rennell; Taurus as far as Tigris, Niphates from Tigris to Centrites; Karduchia, Gorduene, Gordyene, or Corduene, from

the Centrites to the Zabatus; then the Choatras and the Zagros.

A further question, proposed to me by the Society, presents itself here for consideration, whether or not there exist any ruins or inscriptions which may prove the existence of an ancient city (*quære* Tigranocerta) at or near Sert. A false indication concerning a vast extent of non-existing ruins adopted by Kinneir, from the mere assertion of a jesting Kurd bey, and the misuse of the word *Sert* for *Kert*, also *gerd* and *kerta* corresponding to the Greek *polis**, has led geographers to adopt the identity of Tigranocerta and of Sert as an ascertained fact; but modern travellers (and our own explorations attested most indubitably the same thing,) have stated that there are no remains of antiquity at or near the comparatively modern cassabah of Sert, while all the circumstances of the case tend to prove the identity of Amida, or Diyarbekr, with the city of Tigranes.

Lucullus, on entering upon his campaign against Tigranes, approached Armenia from Sinope. The army crossed the Euphrates and entered Sophene, or the district of Kharput, above the Taurus; for when the men wanted to stop and take a fort, in all probability either Arsamosata or Carcathiocerta, the Roman general pointed to Mount Taurus still before them, and said, "Yonder is the fort you are to take;" then pushing his march, he crossed the Tigris, and entered Armenia. Now the Euphrates may be crossed either at Kebban Maden

* The Syrians use the same word, *karta*, whence, Cellarius remarks, the Karthago, or Carthage, of history.

or at Malatiyeh, to enter Sophene; but by either road, the Tigris must be afterwards crossed near Arghana Maden, before the territory of Diyarbekr is entered upon, and which, from being then the residence of Tigranes, Plutarch especially distinguishes as Armenia.

Tigranes fled from Tigranocerta on the approach of the Romans, and repaired to Taurus, where he was joined by many Armenians and Gordyænians, whence it would appear that he retired to the Gordyæan portion of Taurus. In the mean time, Lucullus, to draw the king into a battle, laid vigorous siege to the city. Tigranes having received succours, descended from Taurus into the plain, and, according to the Armenian historians, his troops broke through the camp of the Romans, entered the city, and succeeded in rescuing many of the king's wives. Plutarch does not notice this improbable circumstance, but says that Lucullus, leaving Murena before the city, himself advanced to give Tigranes battle, and encamped on a large plain with a river before him, the camp of the Armenians being on the east side of the river. The passage of the river was not opposed by Tigranes, who even thought, from its taking a westerly bend, that the Roman legions were in flight. There was on the opposite side of the river an eminence to climb, which was plain and even at top, and when the Romans gained this, the hosts of Tigranes fled in every direction.

A careful consideration of these circumstances identifies the whole description with Amida, situated near the Tigris, and having a plain to the north, where the river makes a westerly bend, and where the banks on both sides of the river terminate in a level or plain above.

There is no such disposition of territory, nor even the immediate proximity of a river, at Sert, which also never was a walled or fortified city, nor is there any position in the latter district from which, being on the east side of the Buhtan Chai, Tigranes could have perceived the Romans investing Sert.

According to Plutarch, Lucullus, after the capture of Tigranocerta, marched against Artaxata, but was opposed again by Tigranes at the river Arsanias. Now it is evident, that had Tigranocerta been the same as Sert, Lucullus would not have had to cross the Arsanias (Gharzen Su) on his way to Artaxata. According to Sextus Rufus, Lucullus, by the capture of Tigranocerta, obtained Madenan, the best region of Armenia, and descended by Melitene into Mesopotamia. This appears to refer to the district of Maden, or of the Mines, which is close to Diyarbekr.

Tacitus describes Tigranocerta as being near Nisibin, and in the siege of Tigranokert, by Shapur (A.D. 372), that prince sent his Armenian auxiliaries, according to Father Chamicii, to Nisibin; he would scarcely have done so had it been Sert.

Lastly, I may mention, that St. Martin says, that all the Armenian writers consider Tigranokert or Tigranogerd as the same as Amida, also called Dorbeta by Ptolemy, and the Diyarbekr of the Arabs.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Armenian Cottages.

Collision with the Kurds. Pass of Derej Tasul. Pass of Ali Tagh. Vale and River of Bakiyeh. Vale of Ulek. Town of Betlis. Disposition of Town. Castle. Population. Commerce. History. Bash Khan (Head-Waters). Nimrud Tagh. The Armenian Taurus. Throne of Ali. Peculiar Armenian Houses. Remarkable sources of a River. Capture of a Robber.

September 1*st.* On leaving the plain of Sert, we passed the hill and village of Halasnu to the left, and entered upon ravines of marls and gypsum, the waters of which, as of all others in the neighbourhood of Sert, are tributaries of the Betlis Chaye, and not of the Buhtan Chaye. We next crossed a cultivated upland, from whence we had a rapid descent, amid purple sandstones, to the banks of a salt stream, nearly dried up. A rather steep ascent led over a range of low hills, and we descended hence to the banks of a considerable tributary to the

Betlis Chaye, and rested a short time at the village of Tawah, inhabited by Roman Catholic Chaldeans and Armenians. On the hill-side, to the south-west, was Bada, a village of Roman Catholic Syrians, while to the east, at the distance of about two miles and a half, was the large village of Kufra*, inhabited by Shirwan Kurds, Syrians, and Armenians, with a ruined castle, perched high among rocky hills. Our luggage had gone on to this latter place, so after taking a round of bearings, we proceeded by a cross valley, where were some springs, from which large quantities of salt were obtained by the natives, and gained the heights of Kufra.

The Kurds here, as we bivouacked outside of the village, were extremely rude and intrusive, which finally led to a collision. One of the Kurds had his face cut open, and our Bedwin servant had his head also much cut with a stone; nor was the matter settled till Mr. Rassam bethought himself of carrying a present to the chief. The Kurds, however, who had not had their full revenge out, expressed their determination to waylay us next day, so Mr. Rassam thought it advisable to obtain a guard.

September 4th. At Kufra commences the most difficult pass which the mountains present on this line of road, and which Kinneir describes as the worst he met with; what would he have said to the passes in the

* Kufra is considered by the Kurds as a town. The castle of the Prince of Shirwan is only an hour from hence. The bey is powerful and independent, and is a younger branch of the Hasan Keif family, and consequently an Eyubite, or descendant of Saladin. There is said to be a gold mine in Shirwan.

Tiyari country? It is called Derej Tasul, and is carried at first along the side of a hill composed of sandstones, with limestones forming cliffs above; soon the sedimentary formations are broken up by serpentines, euphotides, and altered rocks, so that the axis of Taurus is the same here as elsewhere. The bold mountain of Garsavera, with some picturesque villages on its acclivities, rises to the right. The road afterwards became more wooded, and overlooked to the left, the valley of Pasha Sheika at some depth below. Limestones now succeed to the igneous rocks, and the road is paved, till where the summit level is gained, and a respite afforded along a level road on the mountain crest, and passing at an altitude of 5120 feet through a forest of oak, with occasional pear trees.

The descent is steep enough, and still through a forest; it led us, however, to a beautiful wooded valley, where we breakfasted upon bread and water-cresses, by the side of a delicious spring. In this valley are two rivulets; one flows by the village of Ashkah, the other and larger one comes down from the valley of Shiak, and passing by a ruined khan, marked as Khan Var (There is a Khan) in some of the maps, sweeps round the south side of Sir Sira.

While sitting by the spring, we were joined by two well-armed Chaldean mountaineers, who, as they were going the same way, offered to join our party, and thus enable us to dismiss our Kurd guard, which we accordingly did. Our road from this valley was another long ascent, amidst forest-clad rocks of limestone, and thence we entered a pass, gaining, after two hours and a half's ride, the crest, but we could not the same evening

effect the descent; darkness overtook us in the forest, and we were obliged to bivouac at the first water we came to.

Our party was disturbed during the night by the supposed presence of Kurds roving about us, having been attracted by our fires, for all was solitary and deserted enough around us. Some shots were fired at the real or imaginary intruders, and as it was also raining pretty sharply, the two circumstances together deprived us of our night's repose.

September 5th. The cold gray dawn of morning displayed only the mist lying upon the adjacent hills, and enshrouding the bold alpine scenery around; but as the broad expanse of day bared the giant features to our view, we could perceive that we had rested on the acclivity of a range of mountains of primary schists, which had another of similar proportions in front, separated from us by a wide wooded valley, with a river in its centre, flowing to the west, till turned aside by the base of Sir Sira, and lost between it, and another mountain opposite to it, and of similar character and aspect—a huge mass of limestone thrown off by the central axis of schists.

The mountain country we were now in the heart of, constitutes part of the Ali Tagh, but the immediate district is called Bakiyeh. There was a good deal of cultivation on the acclivities opposite, where were also several villages, and a castle, called after the district, Kaleh Bakiyeh; the river also bore the same name, and the ravine at the foot of Sir Sira was called Geli Bakiyeh. Lower down the valley, was the Armenian village of Sap, and higher up, Sheik Jami, a Moham-

medan village, embosomed amid groves of walnut-trees, and surrounded by vineyards and gardens. The descent to the valley was cheerful, and the greensward and hedges were adorned with most of the flowering plants characteristic of an English autumn.

Where we forded the river it was forty feet wide by nine inches deep. This was near an old khan, called Karkush Khan, beyond which, to the left, was the poor village of the same name. Proceeding upwards, the valley narrowed and changed its direction, the river coming more from the north, till, on its taking again an easterly bend, we left its banks and ascended hills of schist, where, on passing a Kurd encampment, we lost our Chaldean friends, who had come to purchase sheep. A little beyond we gained the crest of the hill, from which we observed, stretching before us, the fertile valley of Ulek, containing two well-built villages, Upper and Lower Ulek, and so carefully cultivated, with wagon-roads in every direction, that we could fancy ourselves transported into another country.

Beyond Ulek (where we reposed ourselves a short time) we again crossed hills of chlorite-schists, beyond which, to the right, was the district of Chayina, fertile, and abounding in large villages, situate upon the Bakiyeh river, the only stream of any importance in this part of the mountains. We descended into the vale of Inip, with one stationary village and an encampment, and we left it by a narrow pass in limestones reposing on mica-schists, and from the junction of which two rocks there issued an abundant spring.

This rocky and winding pass brought us to the valley of the Betlis Chaye, here a mere rivulet, ten feet

wide by one in depth, up the course of which we pursued our way till the castle of Betlis, and soon afterwards the interminable succession of rock terraces, overhanging gardens, and picturesque houses, which constitute that remarkable town, presented themselves to our admiring eyes. The old Kurd Beys, who used to rule here with a haughty disregard of their master, the Padishah, have been tamed in modern times. The actual governor, having received presents on the occasion of the visits of Colonel Sheil and of Mr. Consul Brant, hearing of the arrival of Englishmen, went to extremes in civility, and pressed us much to take up our quarters with him, and upon our declining so inconvenient a publicity, he sent us to an Armenian house close by, so that we could be supplied from his kitchen.

Betlis being a very picturesque and remarkable site, compared by Kinneir to a crab in its figure, has been lately the object of lengthened descriptions, none of which, however, after visiting the place myself, satisfy me as giving a good idea of its peculiarities. The houses and public edifices are not, as by error propagated through all these reports, built of soft sandstone; they are constructed of the same stone as that on which the town is erected, or red and brown lava, which has apparently flowed from the Nimrud Tagh, and nearly filled up the vale of Betlis. The mountains around are composed of limestones reposing on mica-schists. The lava only lies in the valley; it is generally a light friable porous rock, but in some places becomes also compact and augitic, passing into basalt.

The disposition of the surrounding mountains has given origin on the large scale to two distinct valleys,

each having its tributary stream of water, and each nearly filled with houses and gardens, but the subsequent floods of lava have, partly by their disposition, and partly by the effects of denudation, given rise to a greater detail and diversity of configuration. This is not so apparent in the north-easterly valley, where the hilly slopes are more regular and continuous, and the basin-like curve of mountain incloses only a prettily dispersed series of houses and well-stored orchards and gardens rising one above the other, their uniformity only here and there broken by the ruin of an Armenian church, or the white dome of some obscure mesjid; but a tongue of land, composed chiefly of lava, divides the two valleys, and at its uppermost part it is crowned by the Serai, a modern building in the form of a parallelogram. In its prolongation southward the same peninsula contains a market, and then a long row of good solid houses or mansions, which have an appearance of antiquity that is assisted by the sombre aspect of the building material. These houses are often inclosed within battlemented walls, the gates are capacious, the arches lofty, and the fronts extensive; they belong chiefly to Armenians. To the west the same peninsula terminates abruptly over the valley in precipitous cliffs, and houses of similar character, with balconies overhanging the depths below, and gardens and trees interspersed, are carried along the face and sides of the rock terraces at various altitudes and in positions varying with the necessities of the soil.

In the great western valley these peculiarities are so often repeated as almost to baffle description. The most prominent objects here, however, are the ruins of a

capacious old castle, standing upon a nearly isolated crag of lava, and looking as venerable as time-stains and ruin can make it. The cliff on which it rears its ancient front is in a low situation; nearly in the centre of the valley, which below is encumbered with a large khan, and crowded with houses and bazaars, amid which, now and then, a white-washed mesjid, or a menareh like a pillar on the rock, contrasts prettily with the black and rugged lava cliffs. Above the castle the rivulet of Betlis comes tumbling down amid rocks and houses so profusely mingled, that it is almost impossible to discern where one begins and the other leaves off. The waters are also carried away in ducts to irrigate miles of gardens, from which they fall again in innumerable rills over rocky cliffs, gladdening the green banks which here and there fringe the ravines, or watering terraces, luxuriant with the fruit-trees and flowering-plants of the climate, or are finally lost in caverned recesses.

Betlis is said to contain 2000 houses of Mohammedans (Kurds, Turkomans, Shiites, and Osmanlis); 1000 houses of Armenians, about 50 of Syrians, and some of Chaldeans. Kinneir reckoned a population of 12,000 souls; Colonel Sheil makes only 1500 houses. The accounts I received tally with those of Mr. Consul Brant and Mr. Southgate. There are three jamis, twelve mesjids, and several tekiyyehs. The Armenians have eight churches, three of which are in ruin. The Syrians and Chaldeans also have each their place of worship.

There are khans for merchants and for goods; the trade consists in woollens, tobacco, gall nuts, and gum tragacanth, of which latter 12,000 okahs are annually

exported. Raw cotton is brought from Persia, and cotton cloths are manufactured in the town. The Christians are employed in trade, as artisans, in dyeing, and in distilling arraki.

The serai of Betlis is situated, by Mr. Glasscott's observations, in east longitude 42° 4′ 45″, a result which approximated tolerably with our own chronometrical observations. The north latitude of the same place, by sun and moon's meridian altitude, was 38° 24′ 5″; by Mr. Glasscott's observations, 38° 23′ 54″. The elevation by barometer 5470, being nearly 300 feet above the khan. The boiling-point thermometer did not give results quite so high, only about 5000 feet for the serai.

At this elevation the inhabitants never sleep on the roofs of the houses, and melons, water-melons, grapes, and figs flourish side by side with apples, pears, plums, cabbages, and the esculent vegetables of a temperate climate. The native Christians travel, and bring European manufactures here. A French picture of Napoleon, at the head of his Guard, adorned our room.

Although Betlis is evidently a city of considerable antiquity, its history is quite unknown, nor is it noticed in the Armenian Chronicles. St. Martin only says of it that it has always been governed by Kurd Beys. It must, however, have been anciently in possession of the Armenians, as the road between Artaxata and Tigranokerd could not otherwise have been open. In Tavernier's time it was governed by an independent bey, and in the present day it is still a beyship, hereditary in a Kurdish family, the last representative of which has been displaced by the Osmanli Pasha of Erzrum, and supplanted by a brother supposed to be better disposed

towards the Sultan. The son of the deposed governor, a boy of twelve years of age, spent most of his time with us during our stay.

September 7th. We were not the first travellers who left Betlis with regret; we could willingly have spent a week on its cool terraces and retired mansions. Our road lay up the valley of the Betlis Chaye, and an hour's ride brought us to the khan of Babshin, handsomely built of black lava, with a rivulet near it pouring its waters over a dyke of basanitic lava. In the rear was a village of the same name.

Exactly one hour's distance we passed another khan of similar solid architecture, and another hour's ride from this brought us to Bash Khan, a khan, as its name expresses, at the head of the waters, being situated near the last spring which pours its tiny flood into the basin of the Tigris, all beyond being level plains to the foot of the Nimrud Tagh or the Lake of Van. The Easterns are not at all inattentive to these great features of physical geography, and as at the line of watershed between the Great Zab and the Persian rivers we have Bash Kaleh, so here they have also their Bash Khan. It is situated at an elevation, by boiling-point thermometer, of 5690 feet, which corresponds with what would be expected were the elevation of Betlis above the sea about 5000 feet, as indicated by the boiling-point thermometer, and not 5475, as deduced from the barometrical levelling of Dr. Dickson, who accompanied Mr. Consul Brant, and with which the elevation of Lake Van estimated by the same levelling at only 5467 feet does not tally, for the traveller is always rising from Betlis to Bash Khan, from which to Tadvan is nearly a level plain.

We had to proceed beyond the head-waters, at nearly the same level, to the foot of the Nimrud Tagh, a group of nearly conical mountains, having on this its southern front six distinct summits, all essentially of volcanic origin, and in part clad with brushwood of deciduous oak. We then turned to the left over the plain of Tacht Ali (the Throne of Ali), when we began our descent towards the sources of the Kara Su, and the extensive plain of Mush.

Hitherto, as previously remarked, till the publication of the map accompanying Mr. Brant's Memoir, the Nimrud Tagh has universally been adopted as the great mountain chain of Southern Armenia; as at once the easterly prolongation of Taurus, and corresponding to the Mons Niphates of the ancients: but it is not so; the great chain here alluded to is the Ali Tagh, the Nimrud Tagh being a local volcanic group rising out of the upland beyond. In Armenia as in Kurdistan, and in Lesser Asia, the great rivers tributary to Euphrates and Tigris, or flowing direct to the sea, as the Seihun and Jeihun, pass through the main chain of mountains, which is here, as just said, the Ali Tagh, and to confound which with the Nimrud Tagh, does not lead simply to a verbal, but also to a geographical error, by which the range of Armenian Taurus is made to course north of Betlis, instead of south of that place.

It would be a high desideratum, in the shading off of maps, if a convenient method could be found of delineating uplands and watersheds without confusion with regard to mountain chains. The aspect of peninsular Asia in such a map, would be very striking. The low irregular hilly and littoral district, succeeded by equally

low plains, as at Duzcha, 250 feet above the sea, Boli 570 feet, Vezir Kupri and Gadilonitide 800 feet, Ladik 700, the Campus Themiscyra and that of Thermodonta, the imaginary land of the Amazons, 500 to 600 feet. Then rising as in steps to the uplands of Kastamuni 2400 feet, of Eski Shehr 2300 feet, of Angora 2700 feet, of the Haimaneh 3000 feet, of Churum 2360 feet, of Merzivan 2000 feet, and of Erzrum 6000 feet. Then again the central uplands, without outlets to their waters, at Bulawadin and Ak Shehr, 2300 feet, at Koniyeh 2900 feet, at the lake of Koch Hisar 2800 feet, at Eregli 2600 feet, at Kara Hisar 3420 feet, at the Lake of Urimiyeh 4300 feet, or at Lake Van 5460 feet.

The chain or rather country of mountains, which separates these latter from the territories to the south, constitutes but one brief and stupendous descent leading in Lesser Asia to the Mediterranean, and in Armenia and Kurdistan to the plains of Assyria and Mesopotamia, the latter scarcely any where more than 700 feet above the level of the sea, to which they gradually descend.

On our descent from the Throne of Ali, we passed the village of Erwan (the Beast), presenting to us for the first time those peculiarities in the construction of the houses which, noticed by Xenophon, have forcibly attracted the attention of travellers, as remaining in all the exactitude of the minutest detail to the present day, for under the almost ever-enduring circumstances of climate and physical exposure, the condition of the peasantry in these countries has remained the same for upwards of two thousand years. I have preserved a

memento of these curious huts in the engraving accompanying this chapter*.

Passing the large Kurdish village of Nurshin, we arrived at a kumbet or tomb, standing in an isolated burial-ground. It is a very pretty edifice, with a semi-circular dome, and pointed arched windows, with a bevelled basement of black, the upper part being constructed of red lava. This tomb is erected in the immediate vicinity of a fountain which constitutes the head-waters of the Kara Su. We were surprised to find a natural artesian spring, coming up from a deep circular hollow in volcanic rock. The waters poured out in two abundant rivulets, over the opposite lips of the crater, each stream being upwards of thirty feet in width at its origin, and both uniting shortly afterwards. The crater itself was 220 feet in circumference, and at an elevation of 4540 feet above the level of the sea. It is curious that Mr. Consul Brant, who must have passed close to this spring, did not hear of it from his guides. The Rev. Mr. Southgate, who also travelled this road, notices, however, a tradition of fountain of unknown depth, said to exist on the summit of Nimrud Tagh, and which communicates with the source now in

* Xenophon describes the houses as underground, and states that in them were cows, goats, sheep, and fowls, with their young. But the huts are not so strictly speaking underground, as covered excavations; a wall being raised (in front only) to support a roof of rafters, upon which earth and mud is heaped till the whole becomes like an excavated mound of soil on which the grass grows, and which is generally continuous in parts with the adjacent greensward. The intense cold of the winters on these high uplands is thus well guarded against.

question. Thus it appears, as is often the case, that local tradition coincides with the results of physical investigation. St. Martin also notices this fountain on the authority of Armenian writers, as being near the Nimrud Tagh, and being very remarkable. The waters at their issue are very clear and pure, but being soon spread over a wide district of marsh, the Kara Su becomes afterwards one of the few rivers that are so called and are entitled to the epithet.

We bivouacked near night-fall at a Kurdish village called Kotni, the inhabitants of which gave us much trouble. Our quarrels unluckily commenced by one of the party being attacked by a youth with a sickle; and who in running away fell upon his own sickle, and cut his knee. This being a blood affair, and the Kurd attesting that it had been done by his opponent, it could only be settled after many hard words and much threatening by a donation of money. About one o'clock in the morning, our sharp-eyed Bedwin descried some one roving near our beds. We preserved perfect silence, and in about half an hour's time, an attempt was made at robbery; one man was caught in the act after some little resistance, another having effected his escape in the dark, although two shots were fired at him. Our captive was as ill-looking a ruffian as is easy to be found even among Kurds. The people of the village denied that he belonged to them, probably because if we had taken him with us to the Pasha of Mush, the village would have been fined for the attack made upon us, especially as their bad character was well known. So after keeping him prisoner till daybreak, we let him go.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Armenians of the District of Mush. Ravages of the Kurds. Retaliation of the Osmanlis. Town of Mush. The Murad Su. Hill of Osp Polur. Mountain of the Thousand Springs. Castle of Khinis Kaleh-si. High Uplands of Armenia. Overtaken by Sickness. Tributaries to the Aras. Arrival at Erzrum.

September 8th. On the hilly heights above Nurshin there are the crumbling ruins of an old castle, and on a cape or headland which advances to the north of Kotni, over the marshes of the Kara Su, is one of those simple edifices, solidly built of hewn stone, without windows, and nearly square, only with sloping roof and rounded at its eastern gable end, which announces an Armenian church, and is the form common to all such buildings in this part of Armenia.

Our road lay over this cape, and we then entered upon the great plain of Mush, 40 miles in length and from 12 to 14 in its greatest width, and said to contain upwards of 100 villages, each having from 30 to 40 families. The mean elevation of this plain may be estimated at 4200 feet above the level of the sea, a considerable elevation, but 1800 feet below that of the plain of Erzrum, and the climate is in consequence less rigorous.

The villages are mostly Armenian, but there are some also of Kurds. The latter, however, inhabit few villages permanently, but have their kishlak, and repair to their yailas, or summer quarters in the mountains, part of the year. This sad system of quartering them-

selves upon the Armenians during the winter, fully explained by Mr. Consul Brant, has existed from time immemorial; but this year, as there was a great scarcity of corn and general dearth, Hafiz Pasha has given orders that the old system should not be put in force, and it was his enlightened intention, if he found he could once break through the practice, to do away with it altogether.

The Armenians of the district of Mush have hitherto not only been subject to an authorized vexation and spoliation entailed by Kurdish supremacy, but also to frequent incursions of the same predatory tribes; on which occasions they drive away all their cattle, sheep, and goats, and treat the inhabitants according as they submit quietly to be left destitute, or resist this cruel system of plunder. The inability of the Osmanli government to protect its Rayah population in these remote and exposed districts, has led the Armenians to emigrate, whenever they can possibly accomplish it, to the provinces under Russian dominion, where they are well received. The Russians have rebuilt eighty of their small churches within a few years; they also send emissaries among them under the garb of travelling doctors; and I was informed by an aged and respectable inhabitant of the district, that the amount of emigration from the plain of Mush alone had, within these last few years, exceeded a thousand families. The Osmanlis, it is true, put a guard upon the frontier to prevent emigration, but it is quite inadequate for the object contemplated. This would require a service as complete as that on the Austrian frontier of European Turkey; while the government could employ its troops much

more effectually, and at the same time render emigration less necessary, by giving adequate protection to the poor but industrious Christian peasant.

After a journey of two hours, we crossed the Kara Su, on a wooden bridge; it was here eighteen feet wide by two deep, dirty and muddy. A little beyond was Marnik, where Mr. Southgate had his share of the grievances to be met with in this oppressed and abjectly miserable country. This is the first Armenian village coming from the east. The church is ruined, as are also those of all the Armenian villages that are situated more than three hours from the town of Mush and the seat of the Pasha, this being the extreme distance to which the Osmanli government has been able to extend a common protection, that is to say, one that ensures security to flocks, reaping of harvest, and inviolability of dwelling-houses or public edifices. The appearance of the Armenian villages, also, as you approach Mush, the activity of the people, as well as the thriving agriculture and numerous herds, attest to this amelioration in their condition in the neighbourhood of the seat of government.

We next passed the Kurdish village of Nokh, but it had been destroyed by the Pasha of Mush only a few days before. Every cottage, of which there had been fifteen to twenty, had been overthrown and burnt, and the ruins were still smoking. It appears that the inhabitants had not only kept perpetually plundering their neighbours, but it was also, as is too generally the case, always against their will, that a traveller passed without contribution. The system of punishment adopted in this case is, however, at once barbarously cruel and

insufficient, defeating indeed its own ends. In such an onset of armed and revengeful justice, the guilty escape first, many innocent suffer, and all that remain go to carry their wrongs, to continue their bad habits, and, above all, to cherish an undying hostility against the Osmanlis, in some less accessible quarter of the same neighbourhood.

The next place we came to was the Armenian village of Ahkevank. It had been ravaged by the Kurds only a few weeks before, who had left scarce anything but their houses to the poor inhabitants. The kaya was a man possessed of much pastoral wealth, having numerous herds and flocks of sheep. A large family of sons and daughters were married, and two generations had gathered around him, and looked to him for everything. To be reduced in a single day from patriarchal affluence and prosperity to the most absolute poverty, had been more than the old man could bear, and we found him overwhelmed and sick on his couch of sorrow.

The next village, Tersemer, was one of Kurds, which had lately experienced the same fate as Nokh, and had been burnt by the Osmanlis. This was certainly an unfortunate district; we had met as yet with nothing but painful scenes; but fording the Kara Su, we passed through Irisdir, a prosperous Armenian village; and beyond that came to Hass Keuy, another Armenian village with two churches, both in repair, and so rich as to be made the seat of residence of an Osmanli Bey.

At a cape of limestone a little beyond Hass Keuy is an abundant spring, turning round which we passed several Armenian villages, one of them with a pretty

church situated high up on the hill-side, above the village. Next we passed Mogi-yunk, the seat of the Pasha, who resides in a mud and stone mansion, built in a recess of the hills, high up on the side of which is a picturesque round-towered and battlemented castle of olden times. We did not delay here beyond the time necessary to procure an order for accommodation, and we found ourselves the same evening in an empty Armenian house in the town of Mush.

Mush is built upon a hill which stands out from the foot of a lofty mountain, whose summit is clad with patches of perpetual snow. On the highest part of this hill are some castellated ruins, and to the east it is separated from other hills by a ravine, containing the rivulet of Ak Su (White Stream), which is tributary to the Kara Su. In the rear of the town are nothing but dreary mountain wastes; in front, lands covered with vineyards and tobacco crops, with here and there a wood-embosomed village.

The population of Mush, according to information obtained by Mr. Rassam, is only 600 Mohammedan families, 250 Armenian, and 50 Roman Catholic Armenian families. It contains a good market, several khans, five mesjids, and ten madresahs, while the Christians have five churches and fourteen priests. One of the Armenian churches is called Keuk Bedavend (Church of Forty Steps), as it is approached by such a number of steps cut in the rock.

Mush is, by observation of the sun's and moon's meridian altitude, in north latitude 38° 45′ 40″, and according to Mr. Glasscott, in longitude 41° 29′ 30″; by barometer (according to Dr. Dickson), at an eleva-

tion of 4692 feet; by boiling-point thermometer, 4311 feet.

The sanjiak or province of Mush is said to include 600 villages, of which 75 to 80 belong to the same district as the town. The number of Kurd families in the province is said to be 5000. This district is the same as the Motenen of Ptolemy, and Otene of Pliny; it is the Moxoene of Moses of Chorene.

September 10*th*. An hour's ride from Mush, over a plain covered with villages, brought us to the Kara Su, which had here, with the progress of time, migrated from a bridge of seven arches, leaving it to the pigeons, and obliging us to immerse ourselves in its dirty waters. Our road thence continued over the plain, on which were flocks of crested cranes. At Suluk, nearly eight hours from Mush, from which it bore north 15° east, we came in contact with the Murad Su, which we crossed by a bridge 500 feet in length, and formerly consisting of fourteen arches, of which the ancient ones are in the round or Roman style, and the newly-built ones in the pointed or Saracenic. The intervals where the arches had fallen in were crossed by planks, on which were laid slabs of limestone, which contained impressions of cranes' feet and numerous anodontæ, apparently the same as those found on the Murad Su in the present day. I could not find this formation *in situ*, but I compared the marks with recent foot-steps on the mud of the river, and the fossil with the recent and common bivalve of the river. We bivouacked at night at Kirawi, the near branch of the Murad Su being nearly dry, and the bed crowded with cranes, geese, ducks, teal, and phalaropes, of which we killed several.

September 11*th*. We passed the remarkable tell, with castellated ruins, which is called by the villagers Sultan Mahmud Kaleh-si, and by the Armenians, Osp Polur (Hill round as a Lentil), where a Kurd chief, of the name of Alau-ddin, is said to have resisted the Osmanli forces a century ago. Beyond this was the village of Sikawa or Kawus, the inhabitants of which had emigrated lately to the Russian provinces. As we proceeded upwards, always nearly due north, the banks of the river narrowed, the hills on both sides being composed of supracretaceous limestones and sandstones, nearly horizontally disposed. After a ride of four hours, the valley opened, and we came upon the junction of the Char Buhar Su, which has its origin apparently from the south-east slope of the Bingol Tagh, and was about forty feet wide by two in depth at its junction; at the same point the Murad Su had a mean width of 150 feet, but was deep. It now flowed from the east a little south.

We left Mr. Brant's route at this point, and ascended the bleak basaltic hills which now first presented themselves to the right, or north-east. On the first crest we found a coarse sandstone, tilted up by the basaltic rocks, and large deposits of altered marls.

We continued to travel for several hours over similar hills, always at an elevation of from 5000 to 6000 feet above the sea. Astragalus, Gnaphalium, fennel, and a few other plants which resist sudden changes of temperature and great atmospheric vicissitudes, alone flourished on these monotonous heights, which constitute the easterly prolongation of the Bingol Tagh. We did not succeed in passing over them this day, and were obliged, by night coming on, to bivouac at a spring at an eleva-

tion of 5866 feet by boiling-point thermometer, and where there was no fuel to be obtained. It froze sharply at night, and some of our attendants, who had not changed their Mesopotamian dresses, suffered very much from the cold.

September 12th. Crossing another crest, the road descended by a devious route of two hours to the banks of the Kizil Chaye (Red River), a tributary of the Murad Su, supplied by the eastern slopes of the bountiful Bingol Tagh. The banks of all the rivers in these high uplands, from the Murad Su to Erzrum, are well stored with brushwood, and afford a pleasing contrast to the nakedness around, looking like a verdant fringe that encircles the bases of the mountains.

The succession of rocks in the same district, from below upwards, are mica-schist and clay-schists, conide and ferriferous limestones, conglomerates of the saliferous red sandstones, various coloured sandstones, sands, marls, and gypsum. The upper part of these deposits are those through which the last great eruption of rocks of the felspatho-pyroxenic series has taken place, or over which they have been effused in vast accumulations, filling up the valleys, where the accumulation is naturally deeper than on the hill-side, altering the sedimentary formations into so many wackes and spilites, and being afterwards themselves cut by the perpetually-flowing streams into narrow picturesque ravines, or deep glens, with broken precipitous acclivities.

In little more than two hours from the Kizil Chaye we arrived at Aruz, upon the Kaleh Su, turning up which was a short ride to Khinis, the seat of government of the surrounding country.

This remarkable place consists chiefly of a castle, built upon a cliff of basaltic rock, up knolls of which walls, bastions, and curtains in advance, are carried in picturesque profusion, while the few hamlets that have gathered round the seat of government fill up the glen below, or advance stealthily upon the plain above. Khinis is at an elevation, by boiling-point thermometer, of 5239 feet (5686 feet by barometer, Dr. Dickson). Our meridian altitude of sun was taken at Aruz, which is in north latitude 39° 17′ 40″; Khinis or Khunus Kaleh being, it appears by Mr. Glasscott's observations, in 39° 21′ 42″.

Mr. Southgate, who followed a different road, describes what he calls *the plain* of Khunus, situated to the eastward, as containing eighteen villages, all of which are Armenian.

I have previously remarked that the main features and leading points of contrasted configuration in the great Armenian upland are derived from the alteration produced in a country of recent sedimentary deposits reposing on low hills of schistose rock being broken up by one or more great eruptions of volcanic rocks. The Terktob, or Barmahsiz Tagh, is an example of simple upraised sedimentary deposits; the Chekmah Tagh, of the volcanic rock occurring in dykes in mica-schists, even to the crest of the hills, while on the acclivities are upraised and altered limestones. The Bingol Tagh is a vast mass of volcanic rocks, with altered formations.

This Mountain of a Thousand Lakes, concerning which many ridiculous traditions are current among the Armenians, is not so much a distinct mountain, as a

long crest upon an upland district. From these circumstances, although at so considerable a height above the level of the sea, it gives no impression of loftiness from the uplands around. Its long continuous crest, protected at the same time by bluff ridges of volcanic rock, is more favourable to the perpetuation of glaciers and snow patches than an isolated cone like that of Supan Tagh, which is also visible from Khinis. Hence the Bingol Tagh may be considered as somewhat below the lower limit of perpetual snows in these parallels, although it has snow patches (whence its numerous lakes and water rills) all the year round, while probably the Supan Tagh expresses the height of the same inferior line pretty accurately.

September 13th. A little more than a mile and a half north of Khinis we came to another rivulet, with the usual wooded banks, which soon afterwards is divided into two tributaries, one from the west, the other from the north, and a little beyond the northerly tributary is found to result from the union of two more streams. Below all these hydrographical subdivisions occurring within so short a space, is the ruin of an Armenian sepulchral chapel, remarkable for its peculiar lightness and elegance of style, rising like a colossal cross with a lantern dome. Near it are some large upright stones, with the cross in bas-relief.

We travelled along the southern foot of the Chekmah Tagh, and up the valley of the west branch of the second division of streams, till we came to where the same stream was itself the recipient of two, one from the north 10° east, the other from the south 80° west: and here we halted, in north latitude, by the sun's meridian

altitude, 39° 24′ 5″. The ground where we slept was marshy and wooded, the night was also frosty, and by next morning four of the party had caught malaria, as well as, strange to say, one of the horses.

September 14*th*. We ascended this morning the Chekmah Tagh, on the western crest of which is a ridge of black basalt (the Kara Kaya of Mr. Brant's map), the summit and easterly prolongation consisting of indurated limestones on mica-schists. Here also was a kumbet of similar black rock, with numerous graves around, although there were no habitations within sight. We descended by an open glen in basalt till we came to water, when, owing to the continued illness of several of the party, we halted at the foot of a basaltic knoll, on the summit of which were the ruins of a fortress. Mr. Rassam, taking advantage of some travellers also on the same road, left us here to continue his road onwards to Erzrum. This castle is, by sun's meridian altitude, in north latitude 39° 29′ 40″, and at an altitude by boiling-point thermometer of 5380 feet. At night-time the frost was severe; a jug of water placed by the bedside of the sick was frozen over with a thick coating of ice; this in the time of still great heats in Mesopotamia*.

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* It is curious in the present day to look back to a not very long period, when the last commentators of Xenophon in this country had recourse to a theory of Tournefort's to explain the severe cold of these lofty regions, viz.: that the earth was impregnated with sal ammoniac! The fact is, that when once upon the uplands, without instruments, a casual traveller has no idea of the elevation at which he is travelling. A curious instance of this kind once presented itself to me. I requested a travelling gentleman to take notes for

September 15*th*. The Khan Tagh which was now before us inspired hope to the sick, and we were able to make an early start. We found this range composed of limestones, which were remarkable for the great quantity of iron ore which they contained. We noticed the presence of this mineral, at a subsequent opportunity, to Hafiz Pasha.

On our descent from the mountain we found ourselves on the banks of the Bingol Su, why so named in preference to the numerous other streams descending from that mountain, it is difficult to say, but it is the first tributary met with on going northward to the river Aras. It abounded in fish. Ascending another gentle eminence we made a further descent to a second large tributary to the same river, on the banks of which we halted half-way from a ruined khan and salt springs, and a village to the south. The latitude of this place was, by meridian altitude of sun, 39° 37′ 30″; altitude, 5530 feet.

September 16*th*. We started as usual before the sun, so intolerable to aguish persons, had become strong. Our road lay up the rivulet by the khan, previously noticed, where are several wells, from which saline waters are obtained and evaporated by the sun's heat. A little beyond this three tributaries (the customary hydrographical complication in these uplands) united to form the rivulet whose banks we were now leaving.

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me in a traverse he was making, where he had to pass uplands from 2000 to 3000 feet in altitude. His report of his journey was, that he had travelled over downs of no great height, somewhat similar to those of Sussex!

Our road lay up a steep hill, between the westerly and north-westerly, or central of the tributaries, as will be found delineated on the map. We crossed the crest, and passing the central rivulet, which here made a curve, gained the next ascent, when we broke down by illness and were forced to halt on the hill-side, in north latitude, by sun's meridian altitude, 39° 44′ 50″, and at an altitude of 6350 feet.

September 17*th*. We continued our journey this day over the same range of hills, consisting of euphotides, diallage and tremolite rocks, with serpentines tilting up altered sedimentary deposits of the supracretaceous series. On this day's journey the poor black horse, which formerly belonged to Mr. Russell, and was ridden by him at the battle of Nizib, and which, ever since the 13th, had had alternate chills and then sudden and most profuse perspiration till the water ran down him like rain, could go no further, so, rather than leave him to fall into bad hands, I made up my mind to shoot him. The Greek servant took off the saddle and bridle, and I applied, without dismounting, a pistol to his ear. For a moment after I had fired he appeared as if untouched, only a little stunned; the ball had gone right through his head. In a few moments, however, a gush of blood flowed from the nostrils, and it was all over with poor Kara Nizib, who had stood the brunt of the battle and the retreat, and who had been our companion in such long and toilsome journeys.

After a very fatiguing journey to the suffering sick, of seven hours and twenty-five minutes, we arrived at Erzrum, where we were kindly received by old and new friends.

CHAPTER XLIX.

City of Erzrum. Antiquities of Erzrum. General Remarks on Armenia. Journey to Trebizond. Town of Trebizond. Return to Constantinople.

Erzrum was at this moment the place of residence of several English gentlemen, who were exerting themselves in illustrating the geography of these little known Eastern countries; among these were Colonel Sheil and Mr. Thomson, of the Persian Embassy, and Mr. Consul Brant, whose enterprise and success in the cause are well known. It behoves me, then, to say little upon a place already in such good hands.

Some contradiction exists among authors as to the origin of the name of this celebrated Armenian city. De Herbelot appears, however, to give it correctly, when he says it is a corruption of the ancient Arabic name, Arz al Rum, Country of the Romans. St. Martin writes it Arzeni er Roum, Arzen of the Romans, a name which he supposes to have been given to it to distinguish it from another place in Armenia, also called Arzen; but we have already shewn, that this district is called Gharzen by the Orientals.

Bell, in his *Geography*, gives the various estimates of the population of Erzrum, as made by ten different authorities, besides that of the Russians, who when masters of the town are supposed to have taken a correct census, and who make it amount to 100,000 persons, yet it is stated in the town and recorded by Mr. Southgate, that by a late census the population is only determined at 35,000.

Mr. Brant's barometer gave, as the mean result of a number of observations, an elevation of 5500 feet to the town of Erzrum, and my boiling-point thermometer a result of 5700 feet, which is a close approximation.

The Chifteh Menareh, with its two curious towers, its interior ranges of apartments or cloisters, its abutments with double-headed eagle, its Saracenic gateway, and superadded Mohammedan tomb, the original form of the building being probably that of a cross, has been a puzzle to many as it was to us. These ruins of incongruous style have been said to belong to a Greek monastery, and then to an Armenian church. The Russians found in the cells ancient shields, helmets, bows, arrows, and swords, and Chaldean or Syriac inscriptions. Its history appears in reality to be almost that of the various dominant nations of Erzrum.

There is also at Erzrum a monument, which represents the pillars of Keli Shin, only without inscription, but apparently belonging to the same worship.

The Armenians of Erzrum are building themselves a new church, since Mr. Southgate penned his rebuke on the condition of the existing edifice. There is also an American missionary, a Mr. Jackson, residing here, and who keeps up the line of communication between Trebizond, where is Mr. Johnson of the same mission, and the large and thriving mission of Urimiyeh.

It is to be regretted, that we have not as yet a good map of the sources of the Kara Su and those of the Aras. Mr. Thomson has lately visited the former, and it is to be hoped his map of the environs of Erzrum will soon be published. Probably the statements of Strabo and Pliny, that the Euphrates and Araxes originate at a

distance of only six miles from one another is true, not only with regard to the southern head-water of the Aras and of the Murad Su, but also to the northern head-water of the Aras and those of the Kara Su. We still find it repeated in modern works of geography, that there is not a stream of water within five miles of Erzrum, while the fact is, that the waters which the inhabitants drink, and which irrigate their gardens, are tributaries to the Kara Su; they are, however, very spare in quantity, and are at some seasons of the year absorbed before reaching the Euphrates.

I cannot leave the present capital of Armenia without noticing how remarkable it is, that the ancient state of this country is among the least known to the learned and curious of Europe, and it is one of the countries of the East that has hitherto attracted the least attention. There can be no doubt, that were the literature of this ancient people more studied, the comparative geography of the country drawn from its present obscurity, and a new light thus thrown upon its history, a feeling of real interest would be excited in the present fallen condition of its people.

There is, indeed, much in the history of Armenia to interest the Christian and the antiquarian, and that could not fail to awaken the most profound curiosity and sympathy. There are few countries which present more striking pictures of the early struggles of Christians against idolatry, in the memorable martyrdom of the Vardanians and the Levondians, who shed their blood in defending their church from the profanation of the fire-worshippers and the followers of the Arabian prophet; nor is there less field for inquiry and for instruc-

tive exploration in the remains of the dynasties of the Haic, the Arsacidæ, the Satraps of Persia, of the Greeks and the Khalifs, the era of Macedonian rule, that of the Bagratian race of kings, or the more humble princes called Reubinian—moments of comparative calm and prosperity, swept across by the tempest-like invasions of a Genghiz Khan, a Timour, and the no less fearful devastations of a Shapur and a Schah Abbas.

September 25th. There are several roads from Erzrum to Trebizond. The winter road, which is the longest, passes by Gumush Kaneh, and takes the longer portion of valley; all the others cross over the mountains at various points, to the east of the road by the mines, but whether going by the mountains or only by the valley road, the muleteers often go indifferently so far to the west as Ash Kaleh, and at other times turn off by the villages of Bey Mansur and Kodja Bunar, where they take to the mountains. It was our good fortune to avoid Ash Kaleh, and passing the first day over the woodless plain of Erzrum, cultivated and abounding in villages, we arrived at Bey Mansur, without visiting the warm springs of Ilijeh, and which village we found to be situated at the foot of hills, not far from a cone, bearing from Erzrum north 59° west, and where a tributary to the Euphrates of greater dimensions than the river of the plain of Erzrum finds its way out of the hills. Thus the river of Erzrum is probably not the most remote source of the Euphrates.

September 26th. Our road lay over hills of supracretaceous limestones and sandstones, tilted up by euphotide and serpentine rocks. We made a steep descent to the valley of Gol Veran (Dry Lake), and another ascent

by Kodja Bunar (Old Man's or Head Spring). We descended hence into the vale of the river of Ispera, or Choruk or Juruk, which we had now to follow for some time by the valley of Masat or Marrat. The chain of hills which we had crossed between the valley of the Kara Su and that of the Choruk or Juruk river, is called the Kop Tagh, and is regarded by Balbi as belonging to the group of the Erzrum mountains, but it assimilates itself both by structure and geographical relations with the Chamlu Bel and Kara Bel, the ancient Paryadres and Scydisses.

We had a beautiful and uninterrupted ride along this valley, in which there are some mines to the west, to Baïburd of the Turks and Russians; Baibout, Baibut, and Baiaboot of Bell, Brant, and Southgate. This town is on the river Juruk, now a goodly stream, and for strength, not pleasantness, is situated amid barren rocks of limestone, which inclose it as in a basin. The castle, which occupies a single hill to itself, is of considerable extent, but ruinous and untenanted. Baïburd contains 400 families of Mohammedans, and 100 of Armenians, several jamis and mesjids, and one Armenian church. Kinneir says that this place offered no resistance to the Russians, but the people of the town asserted that it was defended for three days.

September 28th. Passing some barren hills we descended into a rich and cultivated valley, with several villages, at one of which, called Var-Khan, were ruins of a rather handsome Armenian church, and of a monastery, or other ecclesiastical edifice. Beyond this we entered upon a valley, with rivulet, into which one of the baggage-horses fell, in endeavouring to cross a bridge

of a single plank. In this valley was the small village of Afshin, with a ruined castle. We kept ascending hence, passing the village of Mezra, over the Tekiyyeh Tagh (Monastery Mountain), which, from its name, has been identified with the holy mountain of Thecbes of Xenophon, and was clad with woods of straggling pine.

We descended from this range into a narrow ravine, with rivulet, in a country of trachytes; and then, after another short ascent and descent, gained a valley, in which was an inn kept by a Greek. This is the only road in Lesser Asia where we met with such an accommodation, but the traveller has still to provide his own bed. This place was called the Tash Kupri (Stone Bridge).

September 29th. Another long ascent led us to the last range of hills that we had to cross before reaching the Black Sea. There were two more inns on the road, but as it would soon be blocked up with snow, the proprietors had taken off the planks which served as a roof to the houses, and departed for winter-quarters at Trebizond. We had just got tired of the barren treeless expanse of heights we were traversing when suddenly the road began to descend, and the beautiful valley of Stavros, with scattered cottages and continuous forests, only broken up by fields of maize and fruit-burthened gardens, extended before us the whole apparent length of our remaining journey. Our descent was not, however, the affair of a moment, but was long and tedious; at times we were involved in clouds of mist in the heart of a fir grove, at others sliding down a causeway, at once a road and a water-course.

When we at length reached the valley below, its numerous beauties fully repaid us the slight trouble of the descent. It was peopled chiefly by industrious Greeks, not fierce Lazis, as Mr. Southgate's seruji falsely declared to him, but labouring Christians, who dwell in villages, the white-washed cottages of which rise one above the other on the hill side, each with its field of maize, at the roots of which an after-crop of gourds and kidney beans is grown. Around were also groves of walnut trees, and orchards of fruits, while nuts hung from every hedge. Each village had its little white-washed church, some of which were, however, in ruins, and becoming thus very soon ivy and shrub-clad, were picturesque.

A short distance down the valley we came to where it was joined by the rivulet of Gerisleh, and on the heights above, between the two streams, was a large modern Turkish mansion. Below this was a bridge and custom-house; and after two hours and a half ride from this we compassed some low hills, which led us down upon the town and sea-port of Trebizond.

On our arrival here we were put into quarantine, in consequence of the plague raging, as it was stated, in the neighbourhood, but having, by the kind assistance of the vice-consul, Mr. Suter, been enabled to perform spoglio*, our confinement was limited to three days; and indeed the whole thing was a farce, as far as any real attention was paid to enforcing quarantine regulations.

There was, at this time, at Trebizond, a German

* A change of clothes, ablution, and fumigation.

student, who was residing there solely for the purpose of illustrating the history of this very ancient and interesting town; and it is with pleasure that I notice the probable addition to existing literature of the history of a place which has been in succession a Greek colony, the capital of a kingdom, and a Genoese commercial mart.

The most ancient notices we have of Trapezus, or rather Trapezon, are those of Xenophon and Diodorus Siculus, who mention it as a Greek city, and a colony from Sinope. It was considered as a free city by the Romans, according to Tacitus and Pliny. Mela Pomponius records its splendour, and Eustathius speaks of it as a great emporium. The Emperor Adrian constructed here an artificial port, the remains of which are visible in the present day. It was sacked by the Goths in the third century, but reverted to the Greeks when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Latins, at which period it became a separate kingdom, under the Comneni family, who reigned there till it was yielded by David Comnenes, chiefly, it is said, at the instance of his mother, to Mohammed II. Until the edict of Soleiman the Great, against princes holding governments, the town was generally ruled by princes of the royal family; and it was from here that in the time of Bayazid II., and in the year 1511, Selim, afterwards first sultan of that name, issued forth, with the forces of the province, to win an empire.

The population of Trebizond has been the subject of the usual diversity of statements among travellers. Bell quotes six different reports; Balbi adopts that of St. Martin, of 3000 houses and 40,000 inhabitants; but

it is now the opinion of European residents that the whole population amounts only to 25,000.

We quitted Trebizond by the steamer plying thence to Constantinople, from whence Mr. Rassam repaired to his Consular duties at Mosul, while I ultimately reached my own country, where I hope, at some future period, to be able to publish the more positive and scientific results of these travels, of which I now present a sketch to an indulgent public.

THE END.

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